

The Prime Minister
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

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ALASKAN BACKDOOR TO JAPAN

EPIC OF THE SOVIET CITIES

SUNSET OVER JAPAN

THE GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK

TURKEY—DECADENCE AND REBIRTH

CZECHS AGAINST GERMANS

IS POLAND LOST?

Etc., Etc.

The Prime Minister
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

AS SEEN BY HIS ENEMIES AND FRIENDS

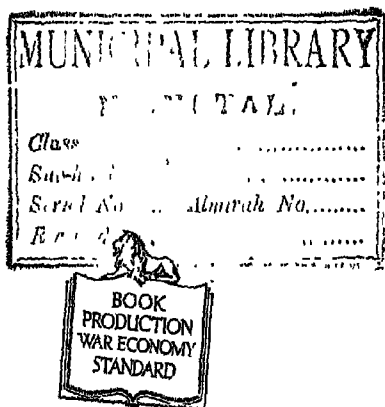
by
PHILIP PANETH



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Men should be prized, not for their exemption from fault but the size of those virtues they are possessed of.

GOLDSMITH

Men of the greatest abilities are most fired with ambition, and, on the contrary, mean and narrow minds are the least actuated by it.

ADDISON

*No might nor greatness in mortality
Can censure 'scape; back-wounding calumny
The whitest virtue strikes. . . .*

SHAKESPEARE

I

GLORIES OF THE PAST

WHEN I met Hitler—it was in 1932, shortly before he came to power—he told me, with characteristic arrogance: “*I’m going to do their thinking for the whole German people.*” And indeed, the Germans have given up all pretence of independent thinking and have entrusted their destiny to the “somnambulistic instinct” of a man who does their thinking for them and is therefore beyond criticism.

The British people, on the other hand, have freely chosen their leader; and it speaks well for the inherent strength of their democracy that Winston Churchill, one of the greatest figures produced by our present era, has been and remains the target of criticism. He does not claim a monopoly of virtue, nor will even his best friends deny that he has committed errors like the rest of us. Yet it is realized that freedom of criticism is an essential component of citizenship in a free and democratic country. Even more: truly great figures in public life have always been attacked and criticized—for their virtues as well as for their faults. Those who escaped criticism entirely were those who, “damned with faint praise”, failed to leave their mark on history.

“Some men are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them.” Winston Spencer Churchill’s life derives something from each of these three sources of greatness—the true greatness which is not always blazoned abroad by fame nor crowned with recognition until late. Some have become famous through sheer good luck, others had to be content with the bitter laurels of recognition after their death. Winston Churchill secured his niche in history through a combination of dogged persistence and sheer force of personality, coupled with talents and an aptitude for politics on a world-wide scale inherited from a long line of distinguished forbears. His personality not only embodies the characteristics of the British race but stands as a living symbol of the cause of the United Nations.

In this fact lies the explanation for much that is misleading in well-intentioned British propaganda which fails to present the

true portrait of a man—a great man, yet one who is human, who has his faults and foibles yet does not consider himself godlike and infallible, and is the greater for it. The same fact—Churchill's forceful and symbolic personality—also explains why Axis propaganda is devoting so much space, so much angry vituperation and tendencious calumny to the British Prime Minister, whose strong leadership they would like to dissociate from the people he leads and represents.

We do not propose here to tell the story of Winston Churchill's life. That story could not be told without the story of the Battle of Britain, the Epic of Dunkirk, the shame that was Munich; without the story of the Dardanelles, the story of what led up to 1914—without the events of the last forty years that are history already. And it is doubtful whether we have taken to heart the lesson of history, or even heed what the present should teach us. Our purpose is rather to delineate the moral strength and purpose embodied in the man whom fate has put in charge of Britain's affairs in her supreme hour of danger and deliverance.

* * *

The effectiveness of German propaganda lies in the fact that one grain of true fact is usually hidden among a mountainous heap of lies and distortions. In their efforts to denigrate the Churchill of to-day they dig up the bones of seventeenth-century Churchills, scrutinize their every action, apply to it the standards which the Nazis themselves have discarded and which may not have prevailed two hundred years ago, and then crow with unholy joy when they find, or imagine they find, something more compatible with their own practices than with those they endeavour to destroy. Was John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough, one of the greatest military leaders of his century? It just goes to show the Churchills' innate love of bloodshed, exclaims that pious pacifist, Goebbels. Was Arabella Churchill the mistress of James II? Then how dare her descendant to-day oppose the clean-living leaders of Nazidom—including their Chief who loves not Woman but hates Mankind, who rejects wine, but prefers blood?

It is therefore useful to trace back facts and dates which ought to be familiar to "every schoolboy" but which, if they are, may escape some adults. The first Churchill to gain prominence was Winston Churchill, a Dorset nobleman, who married Elizabeth,

fourth daughter of Sir Francis Drake. In 1648 a daughter, Arabella, was born, and in 1650 a son, John Churchill. At the age of fifteen, Arabella entered the household of the Duke of Norfolk as lady-in-waiting to the Duchess. About 1665 she joined the retinue of the Queen, James II's first wife, and soon engaged the King's affections. Their union—a relationship not considered shameful in those days—resulted in the birth of four children—two sons whom the King made quasi-legitimate by adding the "Fitz" (denoting the bar-sinister) to his own name: James Fitzjames and Henry Fitzjames, and two daughters. James Fitzjames became Duke of Berwick in 1687, Marshal of France in 1706, and was killed at the siege of Philipsbourg in 1734. Henry Fitzjames was created Duke of Albemarle after the dynastic change of 1688, and died in 1702. One daughter, Henrietta, in 1684 married Sir Henry, afterwards Lord, Waldegrave, of Chewton, Somerset. She died in 1730, while the other daughter lived, and died, a nun.

Arabella's relations with the King came to an end; she was granted a pension and subsequently married Colonel Charles Godfrey. Her charms must have been faded by then, for Count de Grammont described her as "a tall creature, pale-faced, nothing but skin and bone", and even as "an ugly skeleton". It was a time that preferred the rotundities of Rubens to the svelte pallor of pre-Raphaelite virgins—and left no doubt about it. At any rate, Arabella's memory was kept alive in history books and Nazi propaganda, not, perhaps, because she was King James's mistress, but because she was the sister of the man who was to become the great Duke of Marlborough, and the great-great-great-aunt, nearly three hundred years removed, of the man who is to-day the main target of Nazi attack. A black sheep in the Churchill family, though one that might be said to be almost fossilized by now: what a windfall to to-day's Teuton, with his well-known respect for bourgeois morality!

Arabella is also a convenient vehicle for slinging mud at the memory of Marlborough. As usual, German propaganda falls over its own feet in a frantic scramble to prove two contradictory and mutually exclusive things at one and the same time. Just as the Jews are at the same time the "international financiers and plutocrats" and the "sub-human bolshevists" who want to destroy wealth and overthrow capitalist society, Nazi "historians"

prove that Britain was always an "imperialist and war-mongering" nation, while the men who founded Britain's greatness by fighting and winning her wars were self-seeking, money-grabbing adventurers, devoid of patriotism and animated merely by personal greed. According to the German conception of history—and it is a conception taught in German schools and universities long before Hitler—there were no great men who were not Germans. Conversely, any man who could not be "proved" to have been a German by the peculiar processes of Aryan logic, was not a great man. And since even Goebbels cannot prove Marlborough's German descent, Marlborough must be a nonentity, or worse. How simple is the historian's task in the Third (and, let us hope last) Reich!

Once more we shall leave untroubled Macaulay's omniscient "schoolboy of fourteen" and, without endeavouring to prove what needs no proof, survey some facts about the life and deeds of Winston Spencer Churchill's great ancestor, John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough.

John Churchill's favourite reading as a schoolboy was that famous military handbook which to-day still figures among the world's five greatest text-books on strategy, Vegetius' *De Re Militari*. The Byzantine writer's book exerted a great influence on John Churchill's career. At the age of sixteen, *Malbrouck s'en va-t-en guerre*, he went to the wars, on an adventurous expedition with the Guards, to Tunis—a place not without interest to his descendant two hundred and seventy-seven years later. In 1672, at the age of twenty-two, he commanded an English company under Turenne, the French generalissimo on the Rhine. Later he served in the war against Holland, "when England", says the 1883 edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Edinburgh), which forms a favourite hunting ground for Nazi historians in search of twistable quotations, "to her shame sent six thousand troops to aid Louis XIV in his attempt to subdue the Dutch".

At that time, according to the Germans, Churchill had an income of £5,000 which, they say, attracted the attention of Sarah Jennings, the favourite lady-in-waiting of Princess Anne, the youngest daughter of the Duke of York. John Churchill married Sarah Jennings. At the age of thirty-two, in 1682, having fulfilled with great skill a diplomatic mission at the court of Louis XIV, John Churchill was elevated to the dignity of a

peer and became Baron Churchill of Sandridge in Hertfordshire. While he enjoyed the favour of King James he promised his support to William of Orange, James's son-in-law and pretender to the throne. When the pretender landed, Churchill, sent at the head of five thousand troops to oppose the landing, went over to William, and James, having lost his last battle in Wiltshire, had to leave the country. William of Orange honoured Churchill with the title of Earl of Marlborough and made him a member of his council (1689). The rise of Marlborough began.

* * *

We have no intention of outlining in detail ancient history, nor do we wish merely to reproduce German propaganda for its own sake. But this propaganda is interesting. The Germans harp on the less pleasant facts—such as are shown by the history of every nation—in order to suppress praise of the two Churchills. And if other facts do not fit in with the pet notions of German propaganda—so much worse for the facts. They are then either suppressed or faked. And the more striking the parallel between the two Churchills, the more necessary becomes such “doctoring”. Take the following passage, based on the writings and hate pamphlets of German “historians” :—

“General Marlborough (!) went on new missions to Holland and Ireland. Influenced by his entourage and envying Churchill's meteoric rise to fame and popularity William of Orange, in 1692, put him in the Tower on a charge of treason. He was soon set free, as no proof could be adduced except that he had been in touch with his former king, the ‘Old Pretender’, during the latter's stay at St. Germain. His real sin was, however, that Marlborough informed James of the intended invasion of Brest, and thus betrayed both alike, apparently without scruple or shame. (*This is another quotation from the sixty-year-old Encyclopædia favoured by Nazi writers.*) Once again, during the Fenwick plot, Marlborough was charged with treason, but again he was lucky. While Sir John Fenwick was executed Marlborough regained the King's favour. He became Master of Ceremonies to the Duke of Gloucester, a Royal Prince, and his daughters married into the first families of the country, one Lord Godolphin, the other Lord Sunderland.”

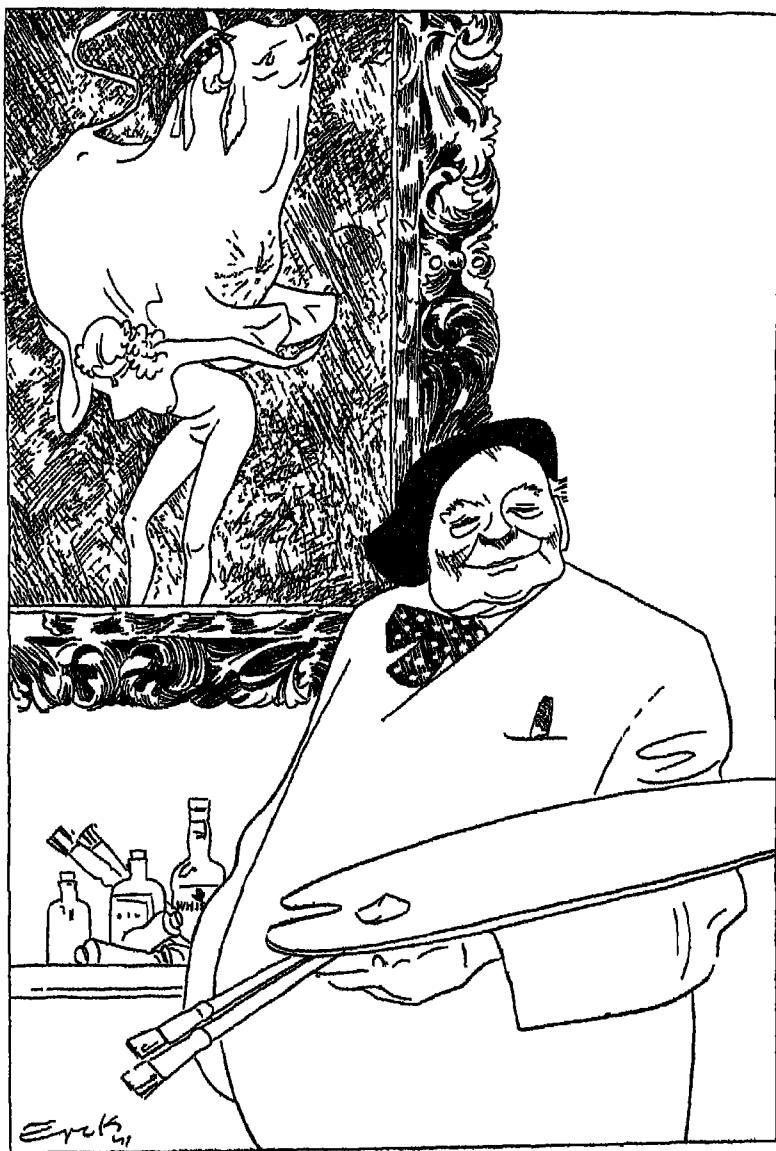
This passage is often recalled by the Germans as proving that the war-mongering Churchills were out for adventure, glory and riches—and nothing else. But what does it prove? Merely the fact that late seventeenth-century politics were not devoid of intrigue—a fact which it did not need “Honest Joe” Goebbels to teach us.

But to revert to Marlborough. The reign of Queen Anne, the last Stuart on the throne, saw the zenith of his fame. Soon after her accession the Queen made him Knight of the Garter, Quarter-master-General and Captain-General of all English forces at home and abroad. Lady Marlborough's intimate friendship with the Queen and her subsequent disgrace (the “glass of water” episode) is well known.

Marlborough gained added distinction in the War of Succession against Spain and her allies. When France announced her intention to claim the succession to the throne of Spain, Marlborough became the soul of the anti-French alliance which comprised Austria and Holland. War broke out in 1702; the following year Marlborough besieged Bonn and Antwerp. He had only partial success, capturing the fortresses of Huy and Limburg. In the summer of 1704 Marlborough pushed forward into Southern Germany and, after joining up with the army of Prince Eugene, clashed with the forces of Louis XIV at Blenheim (Blindheim), between Ulm and Donauwörth. On August 13th battle was joined near Höchstädt. Fifty thousand troops under the Duke and the Prince were opposed by sixty thousand French under Marshal Tallard. What a picture of a time when dynastic and national interests were not yet identical: a prince of Savoy, born in Paris, commanding German troops, and an English duke, leading “Christians of every nation”, opposing a French army on German soil in order to settle the succession to the throne of Spain!

The battle was as hard fought as it was decisive. Three times Prince Eugene was driven back; Marlborough's cavalry broke down under the volleys of the French, and yet he won. Thirty thousand Frenchmen were left on the field, ten thousand prisoners were taken. England celebrated Marlborough's victory.

Joseph Addison, the poet, sang of the Duke as the “angel who passed over pale Britannia in the storm of 1707”. Thomas Babington Macaulay, Baron Macaulay, the statesman and



ENGLISCHE MALEREI

Winston Churchill: Europa und der Stier

"Europe and the Bull—in the English manner."

Kladderadatsch, Berlin, November 30, 1941.

historian, was not, however, very enthusiastic about the Duke's personal character. His judgment may be discounted, for it is based mainly on a Jacobite pamphlet, printed secretly in 1690, which contains a number of untrue allegations. Lord Chesterfield, on the other hand, speaks of the Duke's "love for money".

Parliament honoured him by presenting him with the estate of Woodstock, and in its vast park the Queen commanded Vanbrugh, her architect, to erect that vast, impressive and coldly-beautiful edifice, Blenheim Palace. A silken flag was sent to the King and Queen every year by the tenants in token of rent, as is the case of the successors to the Duke of Wellington, who perform a similar symbolic act in lieu of rent for the estate of Strathfieldsaye in Hampshire.

Marlborough's series of victories continued. In 1706 he inflicted a decisive defeat on Marshal Villeroi at Ramillies; the French lost Brabant and Flanders, and the English conqueror entered Brussels and captured Menin. In the following year he again defeated the French at Oudenaarde, on the river Scheldt, captured Lille, and would have advanced on Paris if not dissuaded by his Dutch allies. Tournay fell next, and after another victory at Malplaquet he took Douai and Bethune. The French tried to bribe him after Oudenaarde, anxious to conclude an early peace, but Marlborough refused their bribes.

These campaigns were the crowning glory of his career. He continued and brought to a successful conclusion the work begun by Cromwell, pushing the ambitious French back to a position where they no longer threatened to become the paramount and irresistible military power on the Continent. Thereby he laid the foundations of what was to become Britain's settled policy for the next two centuries—a policy which it is not our business either to attack or to justify—and which is commonly described as the "balance of power". It is the doctrine which forbids Britain to tolerate the unchallenged, overwhelming military preponderance of any one European power; for such hegemony breeds aggression and dictators.

Marlborough's zenith had been reached; now he fell. Court intrigues caused him to lose favour and power. His sons-in-law, Lord Sunderland and Lord Godolphin, were deprived of their court appointments. Towards the end of 1711, Marlborough left England for the Continent, returning only in 1714, after the

death of the Queen, who had both admired and sacrificed her servant. George III reinstated him in his former position by appointing him Commander-in-Chief. On July 16, 1722, he died at Cranbourn Lodge, leaving his wife the inheritor of "boundless wealth", as the famous French lexicographer, Larousse, has it. Larousse does not admire the Duke's character, either, but such aversion is understandable in view of the fact that Marlborough checked France's progress towards unlimited power.

John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, has often been described as one of the greatest figures in British history. That his character, like that of many great men, has its blemishes—that his period is not entirely free of dark spots—will not detract from his greatness, and neither will all the efforts of German propaganda succeed in forcing their conception of history on the rest of the world.

History is simplified by the Nazis. The following is a literal translation of one of their more amusing efforts to explain the origins of the War of the Succession:—

"In 1739 an ear that was cut off brought about a war. The ear was the ear of Captain Jenkins, who one day appeared in Parliament bringing with him his ear in a bottle of alcohol. 'This is the ear which the Spaniards have cut off me.' There was great excitement in Parliament and the result was that Britain declared war on Spain. Thus Captain Jenkins's ear led to the war of the Austrian Succession."

As we know wars are not so easy to provoke, particularly with the British. It took Hitler six years till he could force this war on Britain. The smaller nations had to be terrified and subjugated before the people of Britain, in advance of a Government of appeasers, took a firm stand and called a halt to the progress of Hitler, as the younger Pitt did to Napoleon and John Churchill to Louis of France. Yet the people, according to Nazi propaganda, do not count in this country: it is ruled, as every Nazi schoolboy knows, by a "Plutocracy". Presumably these plutocrats are to be found among the Labour members of the Government. At the same time the British are Catholics—overt or in disguise—and in league with the Freemasons, not to mention the Jews, and therefore responsible for an Imperialism which exploits the

coloured peoples. Greater Germany is threatened by this Imperialism and therefore striving to liberate, not only herself but the coloured peoples as well, protecting the world against the united onslaught of such seemingly divergent forces as Catholicism, Freemasonry and Bolshevism.

This picture is, no doubt, confusing; but then it is painted for confused minds that have lost the faculty of independent thought. A sort of Alice-in-Wonderland logic reigns—"when I say a thing five times it must be true".

This kind of reasoning justifies the German invasion of Holland in 1940 with the fact that William of Orange landed in Britain in 1688 because King James II's Catholic policy had brought him into conflict with Parliament. John Churchill subsequently invaded Holland, as mentioned above; and if the British could invade Holland two hundred and fifty years ago, it justifies the Hun in doing the same thing in 1940. The logic of Bedlam, you might say—we shall leave it at that. If anyone does not want to see "proof" of Britain's encirclement of the Fuehrer, three hundred years before he was born, in these historic facts, it only goes to show that he is a Plutocrat or a Communist. John Churchill was the first Churchill to plot against the Third Reich. The second, according to Goebbels, was Lord Randolph Churchill, the father of the present Prime Minister.

Lord Randolph Henry Spencer Churchill, third son of John, seventh Duke of Marlborough and his wife Frances, daughter of the Third Marquess of Londonderry, was born in 1849. At the age of twenty-five Lord Randolph was Conservative M.P. for Woodstock. During his Parliamentary career he was to witness the stirring events of the great Victorian era during which Britain rose to an Empire and Disraeli crowned George III's grandchild Empress of India.

Lord Randolph was a Tory, but a rebel among them. Dissatisfied with the slow working of the Parliamentary machinery he rebelled against the "old gang" who based their policy on reactionary conceptions.

Following the elections of 1880, Lord Randolph became the champion of the progressive opposition against the Government and, together with the Earl of Balfour, a bitter opponent of William Gladstone who had left the Conservatives and gone over to the Liberals. At the same time he was critical of the

Conservatives who, in his opinion, were too slack in carrying out a large-scale Empire policy.

He proves the futility of party labels, especially when used by the Germans who have never understood the real issues of British politics. The Germans describe the Conservatives as successors of the Tories and the Liberals as the successors of the Whigs; the Tories are the brutal and reactionary Imperialists, while the Liberals represent the pink progressives, only one step removed from the unspeakable Communists. This description is silly, and men like Disraeli and Lord Randolph Churchill prove the futility of such definition. Lord Randolph can best be described as a Tory-Democrat, a cross between Conservative and Progressive. Together with Drummond Wolff he founded the "Primrose League", an exclusive Conservative Club (1884). The name of the Club was a compliment to Disraeli whose favourite flower, the primrose, was placed on his coffin by Queen Victoria.

Lord Randolph defeated the Liberal Government in 1885, and the following year he replaced his old antagonist Gladstone as Leader of the House of Commons. He joined Lord Salisbury's Cabinet as Chancellor of the Exchequer; but his advanced social ideas proved a hindrance to co-operation. He wanted to reduce the budget for armaments but failed to carry his point of view, and resigned after nine months' tenure of office.

The Nazis draw their own conclusions from Lord Randolph's brilliant, if short, Parliamentary career. Lord Randolph was a Tory, and the Tories have always hated Germany and prepared to encircle her. It would not have mattered, of course, if Lord Randolph and his son had been Liberals, because the Liberals are, of course, Jewish-minded and therefore enemies of Germany. And if a Labour Party had existed in Lord Randolph's day, and he had joined them, this would have proved the same thing: for the Labour Party is, of course, Communist, and therefore an enemy of Germany.

They try hard to prove that not only Winston Churchill but also his late father are political failures, but in doing so they get tangled up in their own arguments. Why should it worry them to be opposed by nonentities, descended from other nonentities? On the other hand, the Fuehrer must be glorified, and this is difficult without allowing some sort of importance and stature to those who have the temerity to resist him. A typical instance of

the quandary in which the Nazi "historian" finds himself is presented by the following quotation from a book by Otto Kriegk¹:—

"Randolph Churchill was a small and insignificant man, but very popular in the London clubs as well as in London's pubs. He was the only Conservative politician of his day who acknowledged the existence of a labour problem and could induce the workers of London, Birmingham and Manchester to join the Conservative Party. He was an able politician who loved his work and was able to make use of every opportunity. Such was Randolph Churchill until he became Chancellor of the Exchequer. Wishing to test his strength he wrote a letter to his Premier, Lord Salisbury, shortly before the end of 1886, in which he demanded that certain Admiralty and Army appropriations should be dropped from the budget in favour of certain social work for which he needed the money. Convinced that Britain needed him he even threatened to resign, but Salisbury accepted his resignation. Randolph Churchill was politically finished."

This mixture of sneers and unwilling admiration is typical of that kind of propaganda. Winston Churchill has erected a literary monument to his father which no German propaganda will ever be able to belittle.

Another left-handed compliment by Otto Kriegk² is the statement that "father and son Churchill are typical Englishmen". Of Winston's mother, Kriegk generously admits that Lord Randolph married her "not for the sake of her money but because he liked her". Jenny Jerome, despite her American and non-aristocratic origin, became a beloved figure at Court and a personal friend of Queen Victoria. Disraeli left a literary monument to her beauty in one of his novels. After Randolph Churchill's death she took part in public life and later married again. Her interesting memoirs bear the title *Memoirs of Lady Randolph Churchill*, by Mrs. George Cornwallis-West.

A favourite "accusation" on the part of the Nazis is to allege that Churchill is of Jewish blood. The Jews would probably

¹ *Die Englischen Kriegshetzer* ("The British War-Mongers").

² *Ibid.*

consider proof of this contention as a very great compliment to their race, but, unfortunately, the arguments advanced by the Nazis are of that peculiar Aryan logic which other people find hard to swallow.

Part of such argument is that the British in general cannot be considered Aryans. They are too clever, and cleverness is definitely a Jewish trait. They are also a nation of Bible readers. Can anyone deny that the Bible is a Jewish product? There is even a movement calling itself "British Israelites". The British are also firm believers in Christ. Wasn't Christ a Jew? The British cannot be true Aryans, otherwise they would not believe in the teachings of a Jew. No, quite definitely the British have not a German mentality, and therefore they are not even fit to be honorary Aryans like the Japanese. And Churchill must be a Jew: he is clever, ambitious, courageous and loves the good things of life, food, drink and cigars, while der Fuehrer does not eat meat and abhors tobacco. *Jawohl!* So much for the proof general; now for the proof specific. Churchill's mother is an American. Therefore she must be a Jewess, particularly as President Roosevelt is referred to as "the Jew Rosenfeld" by Goebbels. Proof? If I say a thing five times . . . And also, if it were otherwise Goebbels would be wrong. But Goebbels can't be wrong, therefore Roosevelt and Churchill must be Jews.

More proof, if you want it. Churchill is bound to Jewish Plutocracy, since his mother was the daughter of Leonard Jerome, a former publisher of the *New York Times*. Although Leonard Jerome is not described as a Jew, the paper he published was founded by a Mr. Belmont whom the Nazis describe as the illegitimate son of a Rothschild. Having published a paper which subsequently became the property of the late Siegfried Ochs, and is now owned by Arthur Sulzberger, is proof of Jewish "blood ties". If this kind of reasoning does not convince you, nothing that Goebbels says will.

Shattered by the force of German argument we shall therefore refrain from discussing the interesting question whether Hitler fears Churchill because he is a "Jew", or whether he fears the Jews because they have the qualities of Churchill.

After this specimen of Nazi propaganda methods regarding Churchill, another instance of the way in which they fake historical facts will no longer surprise us. They often refer to a

statement made by Henry Labouchère, an eminent colleague of Lord Randolph. Labouchère said, referring to Lord Randolph:—

“I believe that Churchill is one of the earnest politicians in the House—the most earnest, I would like to state, but after me . . .”

This is taken from *Labby*, the life of Henry Labouchère, by Kesketh Parson, London, 1938, but various German propaganda pamphlets apply this statement to Winston Churchill.

A small point, perhaps, but he who reads history as written by and for Germans soon does not know who is the father and who is the child. One thing even the Germans begin to realize: how many German children have lost their fathers since the Fuehrer started this war. However, Churchill and Hitler have one thing in common: they have never under-estimated each other. Hitler abused and blackguarded Churchill even while the latter was still kept out of office, belittled and ridiculed by the Baldwins, Chamberlains and Simons. Churchill, on the other hand, sounded the clarion call of warning while Hitler was lulling statesmen and nations with his perjured promises. Churchill almost alone read the writing on the wall, but it was a wall of blindness and ignorance.

Churchill annoys Hitler's waking hours and disturbs his dreams. He foiled the invasion of Britain when the army had almost ceased to exist, and only the mighty moral force incarnated in Churchill rallied the British people and stopped the aggressor.

Churchill did even more than that. He saved the remainder of what we call European civilization. Hitler seeks to proclaim a “United Europe”—a continent united through external pressure, a region which is to be sucked dry of its riches, its production, its cultural heritage for the benefit of the “master race”. Europe was to become a Nazi colony, its men and women the serfs of the Hun who, by the right of the strongest, despoils that dark Continent and prepares to dominate the world. Churchill kept watch, not only on the cliffs of Dover but on the ramparts of Europe, and has assumed, together with his allies, the moral task of regenerating and reforming that suffering Continent.

There is now no doubt that the co-operation of America will be needed, and is forthcoming, in that great task. In a past age

Thomas Jefferson uttered that famous saying, so often quoted by the Isolationists:—

“For us to attempt to reform all Europe and bring them back to principles of morality and a respect for the equal rights of nations would show us to be only maniacs of another character.”

Times have changed since then. America's disgust with the hatreds and jealousies of Europe led to her abstention from the League of Nations—with the result that Wilson's noble dream collapsed. To-day Jefferson's words would read: “For us, Americans and British, *not* to attempt . . .” And the best assurance of such co-operation lies in the admiration and popularity which Winston Churchill enjoys in America, where people realize that almost alone he had the courage to denounce a régime of gangsters. The verdict of history has already been given, and as surely as it will condemn Hitler to the hell of infamy it will preserve Winston Churchill in its hall of fame.

II

A FIGHTING LIFE

LITTLE is known about Hitler's youth except what he chooses to tell us himself—and his veracity is not something on which the historian has learned to rely. Winston Churchill's youth, on the other hand, is an open book, and one to which the Germans try to add their modicum of unpleasant comment, down to such "derogatory" details as the fact that Churchill did not do well at school. They also allege that he was not on very intimate terms with his parents during his schooldays and early youth, overlooking the deep and lasting attachment which Churchill had for his mother. Churchill was born on November 30, 1874, and received his schooling at Harrow and Sandhurst. In 1894 he passed out with considerable distinction, and a year later he was gazetted to the Hussars. He saw service in the field and soon gave proof of his inherited military aptitude.

Lord Randolph Churchill died at the early age of forty-five, having failed to reach the zenith of a career which might have conduced to far-reaching social changes in Britain, had he not been in advance of his time. From the great Duke of Marlborough, Winston Churchill inherited his military genius, from his father a bent for politics, and from his mother an artistic and literary tendency which has contributed to the picture of a great statesman, general and writer.

When Cuba rose against the Spaniards in 1895, he went there as a war correspondent, thus gaining his first taste of actual fighting at the age of twenty-one. After his return in 1896 he was posted to India where he saw active service against the Pathan tribesmen on the North-West frontier. According to his biographer, he divided his time between fighting, polo-playing and serious reading. These seemingly incongruous preoccupations were to have far-reaching consequences. An accident while playing polo was to cause an injury to his leg which in after years incapacitated him for active service: who knows but what without this accident some tribesman's bullet might prematurely have decided the issue of the Battle of Britain! His service under war-time conditions, combined with his studies of good authors,

In Churchills Kinderzimmer

© G. & A. 1942



„Sei nicht ungeduldig, Amerikaner, wir spielen wieder mit dem Sowjetbärli Verteilung der Welt!“

Nello stanzino d'infanzia di Churchill: 'Non essere impaziente americano!
Noi giochiamo di nuovo coll' orsacchiotto sovietico la spartizione del mondo'.

“Don't be impatient, American. We'll play again with the Soviet Bear the sharing of the World.”

Simplicissimus, Munich, May 13, 1942.

served to give him facility in writing and laid the foundations for his success as a war correspondent.

It is interesting, in passing, to note the difference in the style of Churchill's writings and speeches. While his speeches are a continuation of the classic school of oratory, with well-balanced and rounded phrases, never pompous yet full of impressive formulations, their sentences harmoniously constructed and faultlessly composed, his journalistic style has always been modern, incisive and vivid.

His first outstanding journalistic success were the despatches he wrote for the *Morning Post* on the Sudan campaign. In India rumours of impending war against the Mahdi had reached him, and by using all his contacts he contrived to be transferred to Kitchener's staff—not entirely to the latter's satisfaction. Churchill took part in several engagements, and his report on the charge at Omdurman in 1898 will for ever remain a classic piece of first-rate journalism. This "scoop" was destined to have an important influence on his subsequent career. After the Sudan campaign he left the army as it proved too expensive a life for his modest means, and turned to writing and journalism. His war despatches had already established his reputation.

Journalism, it has been said, is a profession that can lead anywhere. It often leads into politics, and Churchill was no exception. His first attempt proved unsuccessful: he was defeated in a by-election at Oldham. He stood again for Oldham in the "khaki election" of 1900, and this time got in by the narrow majority of two hundred and fifty. The young man of twenty-six was already a popular figure. He owed this popularity chiefly to his Boer War adventures.

When the war broke out he was sent out as war correspondent for the *Morning Post*. His adventures are by now well known—how, while defending an armoured train, he was captured by General Botha himself (1899), and how he subsequently managed to escape and join up with the South Africa Light Horse. He was well liked by his comrades-in-arms and, what is even more important, by his fellow-journalists. Journalists are, as a rule, not devoid of jealousy, and some prima donnas of Fleet Street have been known to dislike those whom they suspect of having more talent.

A top-ranker in his profession, and a Member of Parliament

at the age of twenty-six—not a bad start for a young man. Still, a member of Parliament in those days was even less well remunerated than nowadays, and Churchill had to supplement his income by frequent lecture tours in England, the United States and Canada. He also wrote an excellent biography of his father which brought him £8,000. In this manner, and entirely by his own efforts, he gained the financial independence so indispensable to a politician who wants to make his way unhampered by outside obligations.

From the first he was a rebel within the party. Disagreeing on Tariff Reform he crossed the floor, thus creating the first but by no means the last of many political sensations. This independence did not hamper his career; from 1905 onwards he held important positions. From 1906 to 1908 he was Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and in this position introduced legislation leading to the transformation of South Africa from a conquered province into a self-governing Dominion. This far-seeing conception was to bear wonderful fruits in two wars.

From 1908 to 1910 he was President of the Board of Trade, and from 1910 to 1911, Home Secretary. He was one of the best, certainly the most colourful, and—in a job which never earns much popularity—one of the best liked Home Secretaries. A long overdue prison reform was brought about by him; on the other hand, he raised a storm of protest when he personally took charge of operations during the famous "Sidney Street Siege". A gang of desperate criminals had entrenched themselves in a house, their fire keeping the police at bay until the military had to be called out. And there was Churchill the war-horse in person, conspicuous in his well-cut clothes and tall silk hat, zestfully conducting operations while the bullets were whistling about his ears.

In 1911 he assumed a task that was to influence the destinies of Europe and the entire world—he became First Lord of the Admiralty. The former cavalry officer took to his new element like the proverbial fish, and soon began to modernize the Navy. It was the age of the dreadnoughts, and at the same time the dawn of an epoch of submarine menace—a peril to Britain's sea supremacy with which Winston Churchill was destined to wrestle more than once. From 1911 onward Winston Churchill prepared the Navy for the tremendous task that lay ahead.

He resigned his office in 1915, after disagreement with Admiral Fisher over the Gallipoli expedition—a bold conception which failed because it was not pressed home and supported with the vigour which Churchill, father of the plan, demanded in vain. There is no doubt that the success of the Gallipoli expedition would have shortened the war by years.

Most of these facts are public property. Nevertheless, it is necessary to recall them, for the Germans misrepresent them in their hostile propaganda. It is a curious kind of propaganda: we can see a great deal of grudging admiration mingling with their hatred and envy. Before dealing with German anti-Churchill literature it is amusing to recall a broadcast made by the German Deutschlandsender at 3.15 p.m. on September 9, 1939—six days after the outbreak of war had heralded the death of appeasement.

“Something about Mr. Churchill”, stated the German broadcaster. “Frequently when he thinks himself unobserved he is to be seen in the restaurant of the House of Commons. He is short-legged, has lost his hair, and his eyes are piercing yet watery. His chin is brutal and he is short of breath. A defect in his gums makes him difficult to understand when speaking; in fact, he barks in a gruff voice. There he sits, with his big cigar, with his glass of port in front of him, a bloody red steak on his plate. He puts big pieces into his mouth and chews and talks while the blood trickles down the side of his mouth. Mr. Churchill has been drinking warm blood for fifty years.”

This description is characteristic, not of its subject but rather of the mentality that prompts the speaker. Just a trace of envy for the “big steak”, unknown in Germany ever since guns came before food; a repulsive wallowing in the imagery of the charnel-house—there you have your Hun. But listen to the German broadcast:—

“He comes of a good family. His mother was an American, his father was one of the nastiest men in England. He began life (!) as an officer in the Hussars in India and the Sudan. His was love of adventure and the ambition to be talked about—but more than this: a callous joy in suffering and blood. Churchill must always see blood, he must always see

others suffer. . . . In the Boer War the Boers captured a young red-headed man who promptly said that he was a journalist. This young man was Churchill. He was merely a *franc-tireur*, yet the good Boers did not shoot him. It would have been a good thing for England if they had done so."

We may venture to assert that it would have been a good thing for the Germans, had this happened. But let us listen in again:—

"Churchill went into politics. He became a Conservative, then a Liberal, then a Conservative again, and finally First Lord of the Admiralty. He was Germany's greatest enemy in the World War. He was noted for his infamous methods of warfare against the Turks, who never referred to him by any other name than that of 'Satan's Servant'. After the war he had only one thought: to keep Germany down . . ."

His thought, unfortunately, was not shared by others. The pity of it! But let us listen again:—

"He was the apostle of preventive war. He wanted the present war. When on March 15, 1939, Mr. Chamberlain was informed that Slovakia had declared her independence, and announced that there were no grounds for implementing Britain's guarantee to Czechoslovakia, only the night before Churchill had made a raving war speech which very nearly brought England into war. What does Churchill want? He has given the answer a hundred times. For him the Versailles treaty was too mild. That is his conviction. He is not a rich man. For him war-mongering is a business. His business is good at the moment, the papers pay him very well. His son-in-law, Duncan Sandys, has earned a great deal of money in armaments, and the more armaments he is able to introduce, the nearer he can bring the country to war, the more money his family earns."

If we had needed telling that Mr. Churchill is less popular in the Wilhelmstrasse, Berchtesgaden or other Hun hide-outs than Mr. Chamberlain was, we know now. And the broadcast closed with this majestic peroration:—

"British fliers burn up in the air, British blue-jackets drown in the sea. It is well they should know for whom:

for the plutocrats and for the blood-sucker Churchill, the Servant of Satan. He personally is responsible for the war. He personally must be punished. . . . What does the world need? To do away with Churchill."

The world—or at least that part of it not befuddled by Goebbels' propaganda—has different ideas. But let us turn from the spoken to the written word. The following is from a German "life" of Churchill, and a good specimen of the art of writing slightly "out of focus", by mixing enough fact with propaganda to mislead the superficial reader:—

"He went to Harrow and subsequently to the cadet academy of Sandhurst. At twenty he became a lieutenant in a regiment of Hussars stationed at Aldershot. London society did not appeal to him. In his club one night he read a cable about a revolt in Cuba; that same night he went to the War Office, applied for leave, and went into battle. It was the blood of the Duke of Marlborough, and also that of his mother, that spoke. Before he left he went to the editorial offices of the *Daily Mail* and signed on as special correspondent for Cuba. A Spanish service medal and a substantial payment was the result of this expedition. His regiment then went to India. Churchill disliked garrison service; he went to Malakand to fight. At the same time he signed an agreement with the *Daily Telegraph*.

"Churchill was present during the charge at Omdurman made by the 21st Hussars. The *Morning Post* paid more than the *Daily Telegraph*, and it was the *Morning Post* that got his famous report. His harvest was two medals, and again money, augmented by the proceeds from two books.

"Then war broke out in South Africa. England decided to annihilate the Boers (!). This was something after Winston Churchill's heart: once more the smoke of powder, the thunder of guns. But his books stood in the way of further heroics for the moment. They contained criticism, and criticism, despite all their democracy, is not liked in the British army. Winston Churchill could not go to South Africa as an officer, and had to be satisfied with the duties of a journalist. His reports were well paid for. Churchill wrote from the front line

"When the situation became critical he assumed command of the soldiers around him, and became a prisoner of war when actually a civilian caught with arms in his hand. The Boers put him into a prison camp and threatened to treat him as a *franc-tireur*. But he escaped. Churchill went back again into the fighting and wrote even better reports.

"When Churchill, at the age of twenty-six, returned to London from the theatre of war near to which his mother, too, had experienced some adventures in a hospital ship, he had seen more than many Englishmen who, in preparation for a political career, make the 'Grand Tour'. He had learned more about the British Empire from experience than can be learned out of books. He stayed in the journalistic profession. Being a romantic at heart he also wrote a novel about an imaginary, truly democratic, people living in a happy Utopia somewhere in the South Seas. . . . A man with such opinions did not fit well into the British Parliament. When Churchill wanted to turn from journalism to politics in order to follow in his father's footsteps, he had to gain a seat on the Conservative benches. But this took time. And Churchill was out for the front bench, where the old men were making their speeches and clinging to their jobs.

"From the outset Churchill was not liked in the House. He obeyed neither party discipline nor the traditional customs of the House. His rhetorical gifts were not outstanding, a slight impediment in his speech hampering his effects. After two years he became suspect of a crime which then, as now, in Britain is punishable with political death: that of changing his party allegiance. Premier Joseph Chamberlain was then leading the fight against Free Trade, and Churchill was in favour of it. He changed over from the Conservatives to the Liberals and began to fight the Conservatives for all he was worth in the industrial region of Lancashire. In 1905 the grateful Liberals made him Under-Secretary to the Colonial Office. He soon assumed the functions of a Minister, prepared an Empire Conference, and after a journey to East Africa established Home Rule for the Boers. Then he went into the Board of Trade under Asquith, and in 1910 became Home Secretary.

"His parliamentary and ministerial career had not given

him much pleasure, although he worked very hard. His hour of triumph struck when in 1911 he was given the Admiralty. Now he had been given a department which he did not understand but which was very important from a political point of view. In Churchill's eyes the fleet was, and still is, the guarantor of the Empire's might. During his first two years in office he studied the ships of the Navy from top to bottom, and learned from experts whatever he could. He replaced admirals by young officers with promising records. The man who, like his father, had fought to curtail the Navy estimates spent a great deal of money, endeavouring with enthusiasm to make the British Navy stronger. To the British, Churchill to-day is still the man who put the Navy in readiness to fight in 1914. Churchill was full of enthusiasm for his new job, the head, the spokesman and the chief propagandist of the Navy in one person. He used every means for strengthening it, placed himself in the forefront of propaganda, and used American advertising tricks whenever he found them profitable. . . ."

Thus the German version. We can well understand the Germans' hatred for the man who kept intact and strengthened the arm that stood between them and world domination. But it is also their endeavour to prove that Churchill, and Churchill alone, engendered hatred of Germany in Britain. They forget that their own behaviour has done more than anybody could have done to render their intentions suspect, and to make, as the usually staid *Times* wrote in 1938, "the name of Germany stink in the nostrils of Mankind".

According to the German version, the British began to hate the Germans in 1909. Until that date, they maintain, Germany had been regarded as a secondary power, led towards temporary political importance by Bismarck, but sinking back into unimportance under his successors. In pursuance of her policy of maintaining the balance of power, they say, Britain stayed neutral during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871, and maintained friendly relations with Germany ever afterwards, even after Bismarck had concluded his alliance with Russia from which he expected so much. Bismarck had rightly enjoined on his successors that the Russian alliance must be the mainstay of

German policy; and the events of 1914, as well as those of 1941, have clearly demonstrated that any departure from this precept is fatal for Germany.

During that time Britain supported Japan, and thereby gained much influence in the Far East; at the same time she began, the Germans assert, her policy of "encirclement" directed against Germany, which culminated in the forming of the *Entente Cordiale* with France in 1904-5. They conveniently forget that at that time the Kaiser, disregarding Bismarck's warnings, embarked on an ambitious programme of colonial expansion and naval construction. Bismarck had had no use for colonies or naval ambitions; both, he realized, must sooner or later lead to a conflict with England. But the Kaiser had that large, imperial vision characteristic of German megalomania; indeed, both the Kaiser and Hitler are manifestations of a deep-rooted racial trait.

The Kaiser, like Hitler, indulged in a policy of "dynamic expansion". "Germany's future lies on the water", was his call to Germany (that most of it now lies under the water was hidden from his view). He claimed a decisive influence on the Middle East, with its rich oil fields: the "Baghdad Railway" from Berlin, via Constantinople, to Mesopotamia, was one of his pet projects. The German tentacles stretched everywhere: in 1910 the German gun-boat *Panther* violated French territorial waters in Morocco, and that "panther's leap" of which the Germans are still proud very nearly provoked a war.

In his memoirs, published in 1923, Winston Churchill states that tension with Germany began as early as 1905. Yet he tried to appease Germany, hoping for a trade agreement, as witnessed by a letter which he addressed to the Chairman of the Dundee Liberal Association, in his constituency, as late as 1910. But when he became First Lord of the Admiralty he realized that the naval programme must be carried out with the utmost speed. The writing on the wall was clear. The German peril menaced not only trade, but, true to the innate evil spirit of the Hun, the freedom of mankind.

In 1914 Churchill coined one of his most memorable and lasting slogans: "This war is a struggle for liberty". Three times before, he said, Britain had saved Europe from tyranny: when she aided the Low Countries in their fight against Spain, when she opposed the French kings, and when she subdued Napoleon.

World War I, according to Churchill, was Britain's fourth victory over tyranny, and the present war, we hope, will end it for ever.

There is an important difference between the two World Wars. In the first, Churchill drew a distinction between the German people and its leadership; while the Kaiser was guilty, the German people was not. This contention could be supported by undeniable facts, demonstrating internal opposition against the war among large strata of the German people. It would be difficult to find signs of such opposition to-day. Germany was never more united than she is behind Hitler; and the Nazis, apprehensive at attempts to separate the leadership from the people, tirelessly stress this fact which, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, we have to admit.

Nazi propagandists state that hatred against Germany flared up in Britain in 1936 "at the instigation of Churchill". They omit to state the reasons for which more and more people began to listen to his warnings. After the last war, war-guilt had been fixed on Germany, both morally and formally; yet there were earnest and sustained attempts to establish friendly collaboration. But when it was seen that Germany's experiment in democracy, the Weimar Republic, failed; when organized gangsterdom assumed power; when it trampled on the liberties of the citizen and prepared to enslave its neighbours; when, finally, the reign of bloody oppression, the régime of the torture chamber and the concentration camp, prepared for another "panther's leap" at the throat of Western Civilization itself—then indeed, very tardily and almost too late, Britain began to heed Winston Churchill's forecasts.

The role of a Cassandra is thankless. Popular plaudits are earned more easily by pandering to the masses' whims than to their real needs. Appeasement and prosperity are slogans that sound more attractive than preparedness and austerity. Consequently the prosperous 'twenties and the lean and hungry 'thirties saw an eclipse of Winston Churchill's political prominence. For a few years after the war he held office, first as Secretary of State for War and Air, from 1918 to 1921, and then again as Colonial Secretary, from 1921 to 1922. In 1922 he lost his seat and stayed out of Parliament for two years. In February, 1924, he stood again for Westminster, but was defeated by the narrow margin of forty-three votes. Undeterred, he tried again and was returned

Member for the Epping division of Essex by a good majority. He stood as a Conservative, and once again his critics accused him of being a renegade. They ignore the fact that even before the war the platforms of all the great parties had undergone considerable change, while among this shifting scene Churchill stood by his principles, unchanged and true to himself.

But before we deal with a fateful year, yet one hardly noticed in its true significance by the world even now—the year of 1924 which saw at the same time Churchill's political eclipse and Hitler's first emergence, the year in which Baldwin made Churchill Chancellor of the Exchequer while Hitler completed his Black Bible, *Mein Kampf*—let us return once more to German propaganda. This time it deals with the period when he held the Admiralty and achieved things which the Germans will never forgive or forget. Their earlier accusations will show us the depth of their hatred for the Prime Minister. It is gratifying to see that they hate him for precisely those reasons which have earned him the undying gratitude, not only of his nation, but of the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

"Marlborough went to the wars", sang the soldiers of the first Duke of Marlborough; and on both of the two occasions when Churchill was First Lord this had to be his theme-song as well. The Nazis tell us that he did not know much about naval questions, but they have to admit that he showed himself able to arm and direct the greatest navy in the world. They also admit that "diplomacy, politics and war are in the veins of Churchill". What they are trying to do is to portray him as a war lord, a war-monger who lusts for battle and conquest. Nothing is further from the truth. Portraying him as a monster of iniquity, they pay him another left-handed compliment by stating that "there has never been a figure quite like Churchill in the history of the world". Here they are wrong. Churchill has indeed made world history, but he has had his forerunners and equals in his own forefathers, and in the countless men of vision and action who were found ready in the country's hour of need to save it from seemingly certain destruction. Britain has always, after periods of hesitation and apparent decadence, produced a Pitt—or a Churchill.

The Germans want to prove, among other things, that Churchill not only caused the last war but also managed to drag an un-

willing Empire into it. Their witnesses, however, are of the kind most convenient to the German "historian": they are either dead, or Germans. Thus, one of their witnesses is General Botha, recently deceased—a man the ending of whose political career did not match its promising beginnings. They adduce his testimony with regard to matters discussed at the Empire Dominions Conference in London, in 1907, following which Botha became Premier of Transvaal (under the Transvaal Constitution Bill), less than five years after he had led his Boer commandos against the British. His alleged testimony was to the effect that Winston Churchill caused the war and dragged South Africa into it. This Nazi statement cannot be checked; it is, however, bolstered up in typical Nazi fashion by adducing *ex parte* statements by Nazi writers as "proof". The former "Generalgouverneur" of the German colonial empire, Dr. Heinrich Schneec, is one of those witnesses. Always a fervent nationalist, and the initiator of a drive for regaining Germany's lost colonies many years before the Nazis came to power, he published an article in a special "colonial" issue of the influential German periodical *Süddeutsche Monatsschriften*, entitled "The Colonial Guilt Lie". In this article he not only tries to whitewash the blood-stained colonial administration of Imperial Germany, but repeats the German allegations concerning the causes of the last war. He adduces the testimony of the former Governor of German South-West Africa, Dr. Seitz, who asserts that in 1915 "he had interviews with leading Boer personalities whom General Botha had received, and to whom he had made revealing statements" purporting to prove Churchill's sole war-guilt.

This is the kind of "evidence" on which the Teuton conception of history is built—hearsay at second hand. Well, what the Bishop said to the actress is not evidence; and what a German alleges, unsupported by reliable evidence, deserves even less credence. Such statements prove merely two things, both already well known. One is the existence, in South Africa, of a stubborn anti-British movement, fomented by German propaganda and money, and resulting in overt acts of treason, as witnessed by several recent cases; the other is that those who wanted colonies for Germany were the spiritual precursors of the Nazis: the "Pan-Germans", perfervid chauvinists whose leading men, like Dr. Heinrich Schneec and Dr. Karl Peters, were elevated to the

status of national figures by Goebbels. Germany's colonial record is inscribed for ever in the Roll of Infamy, while her attempt to convert the whole of Europe into a "colony" is a matter for which three hundred million slaves are even now calling her to account. . . .

Other witnesses, dragged in on the strength of some remark friendly to Germany which they made after the last war, are Admiral Jellicoe and Mr. McKenna, both of whom had disagreements with Mr. Churchill. We have been unable to discover the precise nature of the revelations which the Nazis allege were made by them; but then it is an old Nazi trick to drag in some well-known names just to give credence to their unholy concoction of (very little) fact and lots of fiction.

There is, of course, the even safer method of out-and-out forgery. Witnesses may not always fall in with your wishes, but you can rely on documents—especially those manufactured by yourself. Thus, incriminating documents were "discovered" in all the Capitals occupied by the Germans. In Prague, they allege, a secret report was found in which Dr. Stefany Osuský, the Czechoslovak Minister in Paris, wrote to the Foreign Office in Prague: "Massigli (a French Cabinet Minister) says that the British know that war is bound to come, but they try to postpone it. . . . In order to gain time they have sent Lord Runciman to Prague, where his mission will probably play an important, if not decisive, part. . . ."

We shall not enlarge on the Lord Runciman mission. It is a chapter in British history of which it is difficult to feel proud. . . . But the fact is that Dr. Osuský, now a member of the Czechoslovak Government in London, denies ever having sent this "secret report" to his Foreign Office. The author of these lines can add his own testimony. He has, as attested to him in a letter written by Dr. Beneš, "been in close touch with the Czechoslovak Foreign Office from the earliest years of the Czechoslovak Republic up to 1939". He has witnessed the thoroughness with which, prior to the German invasion, all important and secret documents were either conveyed to places of safety abroad or destroyed. This alleged report which also accuses Churchill of having prepared for this war (at a time when Chamberlain, and Appeasement, reigned supreme while Churchill was relegated to the political limbo) is an impudent fabrication—one of the many

forged documents so conveniently "found" in Prague, Warsaw, Brussels, Paris, The Hague, Belgrade, Athens. Similar documents will no doubt be found in Luxemburg, should Goebbels consider it necessary to prove that Luxemburg was preparing the encirclement and eventual occupation of poor, unsuspecting Germany!

The Nazis have never under-estimated Winston Churchill; indeed, more books have been written about him in Germany than in this country. A certain measure of grudging admiration shows through the abuse ordered by Goebbels, particularly when journalists whose character is not on the height of their talent, prostitute their pen for the Nazis. One of them is my former friend, Wolfgang von Dewall, for many years London correspondent on the "Jewish" *Frankfurter Zeitung*—a paper which then was an influential and progressive organ, standing for Democracy and comparable to the *Manchester Guardian*. Von Dewall is now Chief Editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and Rudolf Kirchner, another gifted journalist and former protagonist of German Democracy, now writes its leading articles. A leading article that appeared on October 4, 1939, was entirely devoted to Mr. Churchill. It said:—

"Winston Churchill is a successful author. His style is praised, particularly in his biographies. In describing his heroes he was never very much concerned about the truth. Apart from writing he also paints and, according to his friends, shows remarkable talent in this field. Gardening is another of his hobbies, and he likes to be photographed indulging in them. He is a man of many talents and deserves full attention. Towards Churchill the politician, however, his countrymen evince a certain amount of distrust. His "dynamic life" is often praised, but responsibility for much of his advice that resulted in fateful blunders is ascribed to his versatility. Was he not First Lord of the Admiralty when his feverish efforts in the course of the Anglo-German naval armaments race resulted in the world conflagration of 1914? Did he not subsequently arrogate to himself the actual conduct of the war, believing in his dilettantism that he could overrule the advice of experts? Did not this result in blunders which led to the downfall of the Asquith Cabinet and that of the Liberal Party? Did he not as Chancellor of

the Exchequer after the war demand the return of British currency to the gold standard, thus putting Britain's economy in chains for years? Did he not cause internal unrest in his country when, after Baldwin had caused the abdication of Edward VIII, he wanted to create a 'King's Party'? Did he not, driven by ignorance and his temperament, break party discipline time and again, straying from the Conservatives to the Liberals, from the Liberals to the Independents, and back again to the Conservatives? Neville Chamberlain does not know Winston Churchill very well. Although British Government circles assured their friends that this 'arguing Churchill' who had been cast out by Baldwin would never be accepted by the Cabinet, Chamberlain could not keep his promise and was dragged into currents which he failed to master."

It is interesting to note the way the Germans are arguing. They do not even disdain to use an occasional truth, like the statement that Chamberlain did his best to keep Churchill out. Both Baldwin and Chamberlain were the products of an agonizing crisis, during which Parliament stood lower in public esteem than at any time since the period of the "rotten boroughs"; but the end of the crisis saw them swept out of office.

Time was working for Churchill—perhaps because he kept up with it: because he had the clearness of vision to look ahead, and the courage to proclaim aloud that which he saw.

The Germans complain that as early as 1911 Churchill began to forge the chains for the blockade of Germany in 1914 which, according to their propaganda, starved German women and children. We know Hitler's tender regard for the women and children of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the rest of his European colonies; the women and children of London, Coventry and countless other towns can testify to the consideration shown for non-combatants and such targets as churches, schools and hospitals by the gentlemen of the Luftwaffe. The nation which was the first to evolve the doctrine of total war—the first to remove all distinction between combatants and non-combatants—the first to apply those theories with Teutonic thoroughness and cruelty—that nation should be the last to complain of a perfectly legitimate act of warfare, sanctioned by international law, such

as the blockade. Before risking war with Britain in 1914 the Hun should have consulted his history books in order to learn that a Continental power must expect to be blockaded by those who rule the seas.

But let us assume that Churchill alone was responsible for the blockade which largely contributed to the downfall of the Kaiser and for Britain's victory. Is anybody but the defeated bully who begins to whine, to be expected to blame Winston Churchill for having advocated the application of a legitimate instrument of warfare? There is a similar accusation which the Germans level against Churchill, and for which only Germans will blame him. That is the fact that Churchill, long before others, recognized the German peril in all its monstrous imminence. Franz Rose, in his book *Das ist Churchill* (J. F. Lehmanns Verlag, Munich-Berlin—a firm actually owned by Hitler himself), states (on p. 47) that:—

“Churchill went into the war against the Kaiser with Bible and Moses.”

The same book recalls an alleged statement by Churchill in the *Saturday Review* of August 24, 1895. We translate that statement from the German publication: despite careful research we have not been able to trace the copy of the magazine in question and cannot, therefore, compare the German version with the alleged English original—a very necessary precaution when dealing with German statements.

Now what is that terrible statement—so grave that it leads Parteigenosse Rose to exclaim with much pathos (p. 85): “This is Churchill's war!” The alleged statement was as follows:—

“We British have always waged wars against our rivals in trade and communications, and our main rival to-day is not France but Germany. In the event of a war with Germany we shall be able to win. . . .”

If Churchill indeed wrote these words in 1895, they amount to a statement of fact and a prophecy—the latter gratifyingly accurate and another proof that Churchill could see far ahead of his contemporaries. Yet Franz Rose has dug up another devastating utterance, again from the *Saturday Review* (February 1, 1896):

Germaniam esse delendam—in plain English, Germany must be destroyed. It must be hard for the poor Hun, who sincerely believes that his pretty ways have endeared him to the rest of mankind, to discover that people have realized the potential German danger, and have refused to let their countries be gobbled up by Goebbels and Hitler. Certain it is that none but the Germans will blame the man who uttered the warning.

More German indictments, once more culled from the *Saturday Review* (September 11, 1897). Mr. Churchill is alleged to have written there:—

“If Germany were wiped out to-morrow there would not be a single Englishman who would not be rich. . . .”

Again we translate from the German. The sentence in itself looks so peculiar that one must doubt whether it has ever appeared in print or whether—an old German custom—something has been torn from its context and been twisted around sufficiently to fit the quoter’s purpose. The words sound strange, at any rate, coming from one who as President of the Board of Trade realized that peaceful trade and not war produces riches and who, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, could evaluate the burden of taxation caused by the armaments’ race initiated by Germany. At present, with income tax where it is, it looks very much as though there will be very few rich people left in this country. But then, freedom and not wealth has always been Britain’s most valued possession—though we realize that we cannot expect Franz Rose to appreciate that.

German propaganda relates further how Churchill, as Colonial Secretary, at a conference of Dominion Ministers in 1907, stated that “war with Germany is inevitable, and it does not matter what Germany is doing”. On August 31, 1907, Britain signed a treaty with Russia, accompanied by German howls of “encirclement”. In March, 1908, Lord Fisher, First Sea Lord—again according to Franz Rose—tried to gain King Edward’s support for a sudden attack on the German fleet at Kiel. King Edward VII, the Germans say, rejected the suggestion, but a year later, on April 29, 1909, King Edward met the King of Italy and drew his attention to the possibility of an Anglo-German conflict. The Germans have to admit that during this period of tension Churchill, as President of the Board of Trade, assured Germany

that only "the friendly rivalry of trade" existed; but the Germans described this attitude as pure appeasement.

Attempts at an Anglo-German understanding failed in August 1909. Two years later, on July 1, 1911, Kaiser Wilhelm produced his famous "Panther's leap to Agadir", and on the 21st of the same month a speech by Mr. David Lloyd George brought war-like tension to culmination point. The Empire Conference of Dominion ministers, held in August 1911, agreed, according to the Germans, on a joint declaration of war in the event of Anglo-German hostilities. In October 1911 Churchill was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty with the "special mission" of re-organizing the Fleet and preparing for the blockade of Germany.

Churchill once said "it is better to be sure than sorry"—but, as stated before, we have been unable to make sure whether those alleged statements actually appeared in the *Saturday Review*. No trace of them could be found.

But to revert to Franz Rose. "During the three years ensuing until the declaration of war, Churchill spent eight months sailing in the *Enchantress*, surrounded by a staff of experts and the most capable naval officers, working industriously on the completion of his plans."

In December 1911 he warns the Germans in a public speech that the British Fleet is more than a match for the German navy. "Churchill is in his proper element. The whole atmosphere in Britain is charged. There is only one thought: war with Germany is inevitable." On February 1, 1912, all British consulates received their instructions in the event of war with Germany, and Churchill appointed an "Armada Day" for the Navy. Fleet manœuvres were held between November 20 and 25, 1912, off the East Coast, and Churchill displayed the might of the Navy for the benefit of the Russian foreign minister Sazonov, whom Sir Edward Grey had informed of the British blockade plans. Sazonov, according to German official sources, jubilantly conveyed to Tsar Nicholas a statement by King George V that the German Navy would be annihilated.

In October 1913, the Nazis allege, he suggested a test mobilization of the Fleet in lieu of manœuvres in order to gain more experience—a plan which was submitted to Parliament on March 14, 1914, without, however, specifically stating which

power was threatening Britain. Churchill held his great inspection of the Fleet on July 17th and 18th.

The Nazis adduce the testimony of Lord Beaverbrook. In his book, *The Politicians and the World War*,¹ he states, according to the Germans, that Churchill bears part of the responsibility for the last war. It is also alleged that Mr. Churchill ordered the immediate mobilization of the Fleet contrary to the intentions of the Admiralty. "He greeted the war with smile and laughter", says Franz Rose. In other words, Mr. Churchill did his task thoroughly: 1914 found him better prepared than 1939 did Chamberlain. Are we to blame him for this?

Another alleged statement which the Nazis love to recall is one Mr. Churchill made in the French paper *Le Matin* in 1915: "I shall strangle Germany by the throat till her heart has stopped beating." In other words, Churchill is blamed for proclaiming his intention of winning the war. In the present war, Messrs. Duff Cooper and Anthony Eden share the honours of "war-mongering" with him. Dr. Otto Kriegk in his book² includes in this designation even Neville Chamberlain and his entire Cabinet of "Counter-Revolutionaries". On page 67 of his book, Dr. Kriegk describes Churchill in the following terms:—

"Churchill is an Englishman and therefore has his typical limitations. He is a romantic imperialist and therefore incapable of judging England's future. In Churchill's youth the Empire's power was tremendous, but he over-estimated it and continues to do so. For this reason he fails to realize the measure of decay which England's power must undergo in our days. He is brutal and egocentric because his lust for power is the expression of an egoistic conviction that without him England must decline."

From another book on Churchill, passed by Goebbels' propaganda office under No. S 8148/21 Nov. 1940—6552/7 and specially recommended by the German propaganda ministry, we shall merely quote the title. The book, written by one, Herrmann Trefftz, bears the charming title "The Life of History's Arch-Criminal" (*Das Leben des General-Verbrechers der Weltgeschichte*,

¹ Published in May 1928 by Heinemann, London.

² "The English Warmongers" (*Die Englischen Kriegshetzer*, Nibelungenverlag, Berlin-Leipzig, 1939).

published by Wilhelm Baltrusch, Felbach-Stuttgart). Many other books have been published about Churchill, not to speak of thousands of articles in papers and magazines. Their solemn vituperation appeals irresistibly to our sense of humour—the same sense of humour which made Lord Haw-Haw spread hilarity, and not despondency, in thousands of British homes before the traitor turned bore; the same sense of humour which makes a German goose-step parade, an address by Mussolini or one of Hitler's oratorical paroxysms, so amusing to the British cinema-goer. The German dislikes and distrusts a sense of humour: it has something that savours of independence and youthfulness. This may be why one term of opprobrium hurled at Churchill in such articles is the epithet of "the eternal boy". Youthfulness of spirit must displease the Nazi leaders who are now beginning to doubt their own chances of reaching a ripe old age.

That German aggression, and not Churchill, caused the last war as well as this one is a fact. Yet even if the German statement were true, the liberated nations of Europe should have erected monuments to him. One result of the last war was to smash the Hohenzollern and Habsburg tyrannies and to establish democratic states as their successors. It does not matter whether Czechoslovakia, Poland or Yugoslavia were perfect democratic states, all of them, or not: the worst of democracy was always better than the best-regulated autocracy—especially that of the Central Powers.

Mr. Churchill relates in his memoirs that in 1912 Germany demanded assurances that Britain would remain neutral, should war be forced upon Germany. Compliance with this request would have meant the end of the *Entente Cordiale*. Germany could have engineered some incident whereby she would appear as the injured party, and Britain would have had to betray her allies or to violate a non-aggression pact. We all know what happened in 1939 when the Germans, while their armies were actually advancing on Polish soil, while the Luftwaffe was bombing defenceless towns and villages, had the effrontery to claim that they had been attacked by the Poles. If Britain had remained neutral in 1914 the Kaiser would have established Hitler's "New Order" twenty-five years earlier.

To revert to Churchill's career: it was not over when the Labour Party formed the Government in 1923. He continued to

work and to prepare himself for the task history had in store for him. Some sources (among them an article in *The Leader*, February 1943) hint that Mr. Churchill was the head of Britain's Secret Service, and its spokesman in Parliament. They maintain that General Hozier, his father-in-law, founded the Intelligence branch of the War Office in 1873, and that Churchill continued that task. Be that as it may, Churchill pursued his activities as a writer, thinker and politician. In 1924 he became Chancellor of the Exchequer in Baldwin's Cabinet. The General Strike of 1926 showed Churchill in his most pugnacious mood. It appeared to him as a nihilist conspiracy, to be quenched forcibly; he was led to commit one of his very rare blunders. He edited the *British Gazette*, a paper which was acceptable to the extreme Right Wing, but did not do him much good. Politicians should not edit their own papers—the subsequent instance of Lord Beaverbrook is a case in point.

Churchill and Baldwin soon clashed over the India Bill—clashes which were as much due to incompatibility of temperament as of views, and Churchill resigned in 1929.

During the ensuing ten years Churchill became a sort of one-man opposition. Again and again he lifted up his solitary voice, warning the Government and the people of the growing danger, and stressing the necessity of strengthening national defence. It was an unpopular subject and it did not enhance its champion's popularity in the eyes of a pubblind Government, a comatose Parliament, or a public that was not much interested in such things. In 1935, the year of the misguided Peace Pledge Movement, when it was thought possible to pacify the murderer by disarming the policeman, Churchill failed to carry the district of Wavertree against his Conservative opponent. Yet this year also marks the turning-point in his temporary eclipse. His popularity began to rise. That year he published a much-discussed article in the *Strand Magazine*, revealing the danger of Hitlerism. The article led to a formal protest by the German Embassy. On March 19, 1935, he uttered his famous warning in the House of Commons: we had entered a time of dangerous menace when a repetition of the world war might occur. "I still hope that it can be prevented, but the situation is far more serious than in 1914."

On May 2, 1935, he again warned the House. Germany is building war planes ten times as fast as Britain: at the end of

the year Germany will have reached air parity with Britain—another year, and she will be three or four times as strong.

Did Democracy listen to these warnings? We were told that “there is no defence against the air”—a fallacy exploded by the R.A.F. in the Battle of Britain. . . .

And again Churchill lifted his warning voice. On October 23, 1935, he told the House of Commons:—

“The whole of Germany is an armed camp. The German industries are working for the war in a measure which could not be reached by any nation. . . . This is a factor which surpasses all others in importance. We cannot, we dare not allow Nazism in its present phase of cruelty, disloyalty and hatred to rule over Europe. . . .”

Churchill had been among the first to realize the essential barbarism of Nazidom. In 1933 he exclaimed, according to a German source which, for once, we will accept, “This barbarism will be a danger”, and in his famous article in the *Strand Magazine* he asks what story history will tell about Hitler—monster or hero?

Gradually, very slowly, the British people began to realize the true nature of Nazism. Much blood and many tears had to flow, many acts of violence and aggression had to be committed before Churchill's warnings were appreciated. In 1938 Churchill's influence had grown considerably, and in 1939 Chamberlain was no longer able to keep him out of the Cabinet.

And then, twenty-five years after her first crime, Germany once more set the world on fire. War had come—a war which found Churchill again at his post in the Admiralty. But this time he had not had time to prepare our defences. The nation's armaments were sadly depleted as a result of the collective guilt of all parties and all governments since the last war.

On September 4, 1939, Churchill wrote in *La Nation Belge*:—

“It is not for Danzig and Poland that we are fighting. We are fighting to save the world from the pestilence of Nazi tyranny, and to defend everything that is sacred to mankind. This is not a war for domination, for imperialist expansion or material gains; neither is this a war to deny any country its place in the sun or to destroy progress. This is a war to establish and revive the law of mankind.”

This is the clarion call of the cause for which Churchill stands. The Nazis counter with the venomous sneer, expressed by Kriegk (p. 87):—

“When Britain will be forced to conclude a peace which will give guarantees against a fresh British attack on Europe, Churchill will have to disappear for ever. But before this happens the British people themselves must condemn Churchill.”

We may conclude this chapter with a third quotation, this time from the Mexican paper *Novedades* (March 1943):—

“This war is for Churchill the hour of destiny. Raised to the rank of supreme commander, he is leading the people out of disaster with exemplary steadfastness. During the most critical period his voice was the only one raised in defence of Democracy. He does not offer easy victories; his gospel is a bitter fight as the means of gaining freedom in the end, and his sword symbolizes truth.

“He is the upholder of truth in the midst of danger during the greatest storm ever to be unleashed. His freedom of speech is unchecked, making him one of the most notable contemporary politicians. There have been moments when he has been the only pillar of freedom, but behind him there is a world-wide republic of free souls. He is the incarnation of faith in the cause of constitutional principles. Because of this it can be affirmed that if anyone has contributed to winning the war it is Churchill.”

III

PRAISE AND OBLOQUY

MANY books have been published here in praise of the Prime Minister's achievements. Robert Sencourt's *Winston Churchill* is a literary and critical survey, qualified by personal opinions and views not shared by the public at large. Sir George Arthur, in his book *Concerning Winston Spencer Churchill*, recalls a significant occurrence. When Churchill, as young Under-Secretary for the Colonies, had drafted his scheme for giving self-government to South Africa, King Edward VII sent him a letter which ran as follows: "His Majesty is glad to see you are becoming a reliable Minister and, above all, a serious politician, which can only be attained by putting country before party." This precept has indeed been the guiding principle of Churchill's life.

Robert Sencourt aptly describes Churchill's self-made independence by saying: "He never tired of the sensation of being himself." The fact that Churchill, true to the King's admonition, has never been a party man pure and simple is summed up in Sencourt's observation that "his political philosophy is conformable neither to the Conservative nor to the Radical creed". Yet despite his strong individuality Churchill has always retained to a remarkable degree the faculty of adapting his mind to new ideas and the necessity of the hour. His famous speech of March 21, 1943, in which he outlined his Four Years' Plan, is a brilliant example. It recalls another Four Years' Plan—that of Goering which was proclaimed in 1936, whose motto was "Guns instead of Butter"—a plan that culminated, as it was intended to do, in the destruction and senseless devastation of war. A nobler goal is aimed at in Churchill's Four Years' Plan, designed, if not to turn guns into butter, at least to transform swords into ploughshares. . . .

Lewis Broad entitled his Churchill biography *Winston Churchill, Man of War*; while a more suitable description would appear to be one published by "Watchman" under the title *Churchill, Architect of Victory*. R. McDawson, in *Churchill at the Admiralty*, deals with the years from 1911 to 1915; Captain X. Gowans describes some reminiscences in *With Churchill at the Front*; Philip Guedalla's *Mr. Churchill: A Portrait* is—just a portrait. There are

IMPERIALISMO AMERICANO



— Caro Roosevelt, dobbiamo vincere a tutti i costi
— Dobbiamo? E tu che c'entri?

"My dear Roosevelt, we must win at all costs."

"Really? And what are you putting in?"

Bertoldo, Milan, January 29, 1943.

many other books, such as Hugh Martin's *Battle: The Life Story of Winston Churchill*, or two other booklets, both entitled *Winston Churchill*, by John Buchan and by "Ephesian"; but none of them is as interesting and revealing as Churchill's autobiography *My Early Life* and his other works, *Great Contemporaries*, *Step by Step* and *Thoughts and Adventures*. His great speeches, too, collected and edited by his son under the titles of *Arms and the Covenant* and *Into Battle*, contribute to our knowledge of the man and his thoughts. His words are more than clever slogans: they express, in masterly form, the inarticulate feelings of the British people. At the height of the "blitz", when the Luftwaffe was hammering day and night at Hitler's military objectives, represented by hospitals and churches, schools and libraries, women and children, Winston Churchill spoke these simple words: "Here in this island we are in good health and in good heart". His speeches reflect the spirit of every British man and woman, their grim determination to hang on despite all setbacks, and to fight on, and to win through.

Churchill possesses two gifts which are rarely owned by one and the same man: that of mastering both the written and the spoken word. Some of his books, like *My African Journey* or the four volumes of *The World Crisis*, will long be enjoyed by those who appreciate a polished literary style. At the same time he is now the greatest living British orator who combines to a remarkable degree distinction of style with the effective use of striking colloquialisms. The technique of broadcasting, usually a stumbling-block to the public speaker who is used to contact with his audience, has been completely mastered by one who, when he entered public life some thirty years ago, was not a natural orator.

There is an amusing story about his first appearance on a public platform. On his way to the Free Trade Hall in Manchester to deliver a speech, Churchill was travelling in the same carriage with the late Lord Salisbury. As the horses jogged through the streets, Lord Salisbury turned to Churchill. "Feeling nervous, Winston?" He admitted it. The veteran statesman then gave him the following advice: "Don't be nervous, my boy, just do as I do. Whenever I get up to speak I always make a point of taking a good look round my audience. Then I tell myself 'good Lord, what a lot of silly fools', and then I feel better."

To-day Churchill has no need to reassure himself in this manner. His level sentences, formed with strong and deliberate resolve, uttered in measured accents and lit up by flashes of skilful wit, shows that the Prime Minister appeals to his listeners' powers of reasoning. It is only the ignorant, tub-thumping demagogue who despises his audience and appeals to their lower instincts. A comparison with Hitler is unavoidable here. Hitler, that frustrated misfit, despises the mob whose passions he rouses. His is the self-intoxication of the howling dervish who works himself and his audience into an ecstatic frenzy. The German language, an expressive and flexible tongue in which great men have voiced deep thoughts, whose words they shaped into decorous and sometimes beautiful phrases has, in the grip of Hitler and his Nazis, suffered rape and violation. It is a thousand pities that Hitler's speeches and writings are accessible in translations only to civilized people: the translator is obliged to impart some meaning and some shape to those sentences which, in their original disjointedness, vulgarity, bad grammar and ludicrous hyperbole show so clearly the degradation of a language and those who use it. A polished style reflects, if not always a good character, yet at least good manners; a completely illiterate person, on the other hand, may sometimes attain a crude and forthright vigour which, if honest, may not be unpleasing; but the sorriest spectacle is presented by the semi-literate, the half-educated, the "petit bourgeois" running wild, floundering hopelessly out of his depth, pursuing that which perpetually eludes him, screeching out his turgid vulgarities, catch-phrases and platitudes. . . .

The German does not possess the faculty of invention, although he is a good copyist. Fortunately he has also copied some of our less happy discoveries, such as the idea, held by the Chamberlain Government, that the dropping of leaflets is an effective form of warfare. The less said about our own leaflets the better; German leaflets, on the other hand, afford us instruction and amusement, both those dropped in this country and those spread by them in neutral countries. There is the *Twentieth Century Series*, published by a non-existent firm impudently designated as The European Publishers, London, W.C.1, and another series, in sixteen parts and entitled *Britain and the Continent of Europe*, also "printed in London".

In this series we are informed that

"it is an historic fact that Britain has no fewer than six times rejected Adolf Hitler's peace offers. All his patient endeavours to bring about a revision of the Dictate of Versailles were stamped by Britain as a design on both the peace of Europe and the existing world order".

The pamphlet gives what it describes as a simple explanation of Britain's "hostile attitude towards Adolf Hitler" in these words:—

"Britain—naturally enough from a purely egotistical point of view—wished to maintain for all time that status in Europe which she had created at Versailles, that is to say a status which divided Europe into victors and vanquished, or rather into haves and have-nots. It was, however, equally natural that Britain's policy conflicted with the real interests of all those European nations which honestly desired a true peace."

After this masterly misrepresentation of facts the pamphlet goes on to quote a book by the Italian historian Carlo Scarfoglio. "Every twenty-five years Britain needs her war", writes Signor Scarfoglio. He accuses Britain of having "by political intrigue unleashed no fewer than twelve wars on the Continent in two hundred and thirty-three years, the last one the World War of 1914, while the thirteenth war broke out with mathematical precision in 1939".

The pamphlet goes on to examine "how Britain practised her warmongering policy during the past three hundred years", and claims that "none of the wars Britain has foisted on the Continent since the end of the seventeenth century were defensive wars fought by the British people for their very existence".

The German "historian" conveniently forgets how close Napoleon came to invasion; he forgets that Britain fights for her very existence by defending the sea routes which enable her to feed her millions, and he overlooks that in this war the British people, able to see for themselves what German domination means to an oppressed nation, is fighting for its physical existence and for its immortal soul. What the Germans really dislike in their doctored survey of history is that Britain always found allies—a fact which would seem to prove that it was not British interests only that were threatened by aggression.

There are, further, the usual sneers at Britain's exploitation of her allies, especially of the French whom Britain "wants to rob of their colonies". This sounds rather queer, coming from those who, with the collaboration of Laval and Pétain, endeavoured to rob France, not only of her colonies but also of her Fleet, her industries and her manpower. It will also be news to many that the United States has been "under the British yoke since 1938".

Britain was out for world domination. "No wonder that Britain turned a deaf ear when Adolf Hitler pleaded for a revision of at least the most grotesque conditions of the Versailles Dictate." Pleading, indeed! Carlo Scarfoglio is then quoted again as saying that, if things were to go on like this for ever, "it would be better if the Continent of Europe were to disappear from the face of the earth altogether". When we think of the mutual antagonisms and chauvinistic friction among the Continental peoples we feel at times attempted to agree with Thomas Jefferson's famous dictum; yet nothing has even been quite so monstrous as the domineering brutality of the German. Signor Scarfoglio asks the plaintive question "*will Britain never change?*" The answer is obvious by now. Britain has emerged from her attitude of "splendid isolation" and assumed the lead in the struggle for the survival of democracy. And it is due in no small measure to the clear vision of Winston Churchill that the British people realize, not only the failure but also the shame of a policy of appeasement which allowed the tiger to become stronger with each victim that he devoured.

Those gentle, peace-loving Germans delve into "the methods of brute force used by Britain" in another pamphlet entitled *British War Aims*. The tender-hearted torturers of the Gestapo, with their persuasive truncheons and other humanitarian habits, are shocked to have to disclose that the British waged "a merciless campaign of annihilation" for many centuries. The Celts of Wales and Cornwall in the Middle Ages, and the Scots for many generations, "were subjected to the most brutal form of tyranny". There is the "tragedy of Ireland", beginning eight hundred years ago with the first invasion, way back in the twelfth century, through the wars of Elizabeth and Cromwell, up to the recent happenings in 1916 and 1921. The fate of the garrison of Drogheda which surrendered to Cromwell is not forgotten, and neither do the Nazis omit Mr. Gladstone's statement

in 1886 on the question of Ireland. As proof of Britain's warlike intentions they like to recall Mr. Anthony Eden's statement: "We are determined to continue this war until we have destroyed a system whose power is founded upon broken promises and glorification of force"—but they like to apply this to Britain. Every German child knows that Germany has never broken a promise and always preferred sweet reasonableness to the use of force, and therefore, runs the Nazi reasoning, the British have unwittingly condemned themselves.

Another series of German propaganda pamphlets spread in neutral countries are the *Informations-Schriften*, published in 1940 by another non-existent firm of publishers called Europa Verlag, London, Berlin and Paris. The choice of London betrays rather premature anticipation. The publishers no doubt really expected to be able to issue their enlightening products from a London address. They are, in fact, printed on green paper of the same colour and texture as used by a well-known German printing works, the *Deutsche Zentral Druckerei*, Berlin, S.W.11. These leaflets contain—in faked translation, of course—anti-British utterances by "the English themselves"—which, according to German classification, comprises Irishmen as well. Lord Byron, Robert Briffault, Thomas Hobbes, John Ruskin, John Robert Seely rub shoulders here with Oscar Wilde, George Bernard Shaw, Jonathan Swift and Thomas Carlyle. There are quotations from Galsworthy and Harold Nicolson, John Milton and Arthur Henderson, Lord Roberts, Thomas Morus, Daniel Defoe and many others. There are quotations from *Hansard*, and a letter from a misguided Englishman, published in the *Daily Express* of March 3, 1939, in which it is suggested that Britain should return the former German colonies. All these quotations are published under the title *Englisches Selbstbildnis* ("English Self-Portrait").

Another favourite method is to bribe or simply to invent "neutral" journalists or writers who contribute their "objective" testimony. A Swedish journalist, Karl Olivecrona, published a book entitled *England oder Deutschland?* in Lübeck. That was in 1941 when Lübeck still existed. Curiously enough only the printers of the book, a Berlin firm, are named, whilst the publishers do not appear. This is contrary to the existing German laws regulating the press—but then, what is a German law? The

book is full of violent anti-British statements, and Mr. Churchill in particular comes in for a good deal of abuse.

Another stunt to fake up "neutral opinion" is the publication, by equally unknown publishers, of books in Spanish or Portuguese. One of these, by one, Ferdinand Gral, is entitled *As Guerras da Inglaterra—A historia das guerras inglesas nos cinco continentes*, printed on behalf of the *Serviço de Informação da Legação da Alemanha*—in plain English, by the Information Service of the German Legation, Lisbon. This publication goes back to 1170 for the *Campanha de conquista de Henrique II contra a Irlanda*, and subsequently deals with all wars waged by England, up to the war of 1914 and the present one. The tendency of this book is in conformity with the wishes of its publishers. Here, too, Mr. Churchill is described as a warmonger.

Among the most violent anti-British publications is one by Fritz Reipert.¹ The contents of the book keep the promise given in the vulgarity of the title. Violent abuse of Mr. Churchill, Mr. Duff Cooper and others "proves" Britain's war guilt. There are also sensational documents to prove this contention—tremendous revelations, such as a cutting from the *Daily Telegraph* of August 31, 1939, which leaves no doubt of Britain's war guilt. It is, in fact, nothing more or less than a report sent out by news agencies, which describes events in Poland and the reaction to them in the capital of the Empire.

Another world-shaking "document" is reproduced on page 36. It is a letter from the Berlin office of the Cunard-White Star Line in which branch offices in Cologne, Munich, Stuttgart and Leipzig are advised not to accept bookings for passage on the S.S. *Athenia* for September 2nd. This natural precaution, taken in view of the fact that the *Athenia* was already fully booked up with passengers from France and Britain, is "incontrovertible proof" that Mr. Churchill caused the sinking of that ship. Acting on the principle first practised by them when they fired the Reichstag and then accused the Communists, the Social Democrats, the Jews, the Freemasons and what have you, of the crime, the Nazis say that Mr. Churchill wanted to create another *Lusitania* incident in order to drag the United States into the war.

¹ Entitled *Das ist England! Weltherrschaft durch Blut und Gold* ("This is England! World Domination through Blood and Gold"), H. W. Roediger, Berlin, S.W.11

Even pro-Nazi writers like Georg Sylvester Viereck admit that the sinking of the *Lusitania* was a major blunder of the German admiralty. Now they try to turn a similar crime which they have committed to their own advantage. Napolcon said: "This is worse than a crime—it's a blunder." This repeated German crime—it is established beyond doubt that a German U-boat torpedoed the *Athenia*—has demonstrated to public opinion in America that the German does not change.

Hitler once said that a lie needs only to be big enough to be believed. While smaller lies need some proof, gigantic, truly colossal lies so impress the beholder that he dare not doubt. Surely no man could have the audacity to invent something so stupendous, so unbelievable; and therefore the simple-minded citizen believes. This is the basis of German propaganda; this is the justification for Goebbels, the man who never spoke the truth, to call Churchill a *Fachmann für Lügen* (Expert for Lies). Let Goebbels rest easy on his laurels—he need fear no competitor. On page 45 of the same book we read:—

"Lies dominate England's propaganda, lies are her weapons in peace and even more in war. Atrocity stories of terror and persecution were invented and used as England's weapons against the German people."

How many lies are packed here into one single sentence! The concentration camps and torture chambers, the pogroms and shootings of hostages, the mobile gas chambers and other butcheries witnessed by millions throughout Europe—things which the fundamentally decent mind of the British public long refused to believe—such things cannot be imagined by a normal mentality unless they actually exist. The only one who could invent and perpetrate such horrors is the Hun.

If there are degrees in the depths to which vulgarity can sink, the lowest level is reached in the abuse heaped on Churchill in German broadcasts and newspapers. On August 7, 1941, the German Home Stations broadcast the following:—

"All the books and articles by Churchill published during the past forty years have attracted the attention of the Psychiatrist. They are the documents of a pathological liar. Ever since Churchill personally, through a stooge, directs

the course of the English mouth offensive, Great Britain utters only pathological gibbering lies. We can only welcome this. Our news thereby becomes even more effective."

Observe the German technique: a statement that would be near the truth if the name of Hitler were inserted in the relevant places is applied to his opponent.

Dr. Robert Ley ("The Man who hasn't been Sober in Twenty Years"), leader of the German Labour Front, stated in the *Westdeutscher Beobachter* of January 29, 1941:—

"Churchill is an obstinate and senile liar. He is a fraud, pre-disposed to cruelty and brutality, and with no thought for the lives and property of his fellow men. This criminal tendency runs as an unmistakable red thread through his entire life, and now in his old age it has turned him into a grinning gargoyle."

Two days later Goebbels wrote in *Das Reich*:—

"It is a tragedy for the British nation that it backs Churchill and has linked its fate with his. Churchill, however, will perish by this war, and the curses of the millions whom he has led astray will follow him to his grave. Churchill wants this war for the sake of war; he fostered and prepared it out of his destructive instinct. He is a figure out of that political underworld which emerges from chaos."

Another violent attack appeared in the same paper on March 28, 1942. Goebbels wrote:—

"Churchill knows the ropes and possesses that degree of cynicism and brutality of feeling which can whip up a people for a lost cause. He realizes that he is gambling, not only with his cause but with his own existence. This war is his war. If he loses it it means for him and his like the loss of a political career, and perhaps even more."

In these two quotations Goebbels evinces a singular concern both for the fate of the poor misguided British people and Mr. Churchill's political career. The war, however, is Churchill's war, he declares. Yet the Doctor stated in a German broadcast to Britain on August 17, 1941: "When Roosevelt points to the

dotted line Churchill has to sign." The Doctor seems unable to make up his mind whose war it is, Churchill's or Roosevelt's, and he forgets that it is the people's war as well—the war of all freedom-loving peoples against German domination.

Another striking contradiction occurred in Goebbels' broadcast on July 3, 1942, when Goebbels, in a broadcast for home consumption, gave vent to a *cri de cœur* similar to Hitler's outburst against "the military idiots who always do the unexpected". He said:—

"We greatly prefer competent enemy leadership to Churchill's methods of government, for the simple reason that it would make it possible to assess with some degree of probability what it would do in this or that eventuality. This is absolutely impossible when dealing with Churchill."

Now we know what Goebbels would prefer. But he does not know what he is saying, for on the same day another broadcast in the German Home Service said:—

"It is very encouraging to know that Churchill will remain at the head of the British direction of the war. His speech yesterday again confirmed the fact that we are dealing with a political gambler and military amateur who is ultimately responsible for Britain's defeats."

Churchill was not responsible for the defeat of Dunkirk when an ill-equipped army had to taste the Dead Sea fruits of appeasement; but he has been responsible for continued resistance when Britain stood alone, for the Battle of Britain fought and won in the air over our shores, for the liberation of Abyssinia, for the defence of Egypt, the conquest of Libya and North Africa and the annihilation of the Afrika Korps. Are these defeats? And does Goebbels know what he is talking about? But it is useless to argue with people whose argument is force and nothing else. One day the victims of that régime of brute force will be avenged; one day, we hope, those who are the victims of our own mistakes will also be reinstated. For it would be senseless to deny that democratic leaders—or rather, some of the leaders appointed by the democracies—have committed errors and blunders. It is the inherent strength of democracy that it can admit, survive and

rectify its own mistakes. And there is a list—a long list, compiled by sloth, indolence, prejudice and hardness of heart. There are the small nations whom a system that had become effete allowed to go down before the aggressor. There is the fate of the Jews whose extermination, openly announced and begun, the world watched with expressions of sympathy, while closing its frontiers to the few survivors. There is the senseless internment, accompanied by much unnecessary suffering, of the refugees from Nazi oppression, Hitler's first and bitterest enemies, who were rounded up, deported overseas, humiliated and embittered, while less than five hundred avowed fascists are under detention.

It is a list which could be extended. When Democracy, after having won the struggle for survival, will have to tackle the equally important task of regenerating itself by casting out persons and methods opposed to its fundamental principles, the bill will be presented. And then Democracy will demonstrate its strength by doing something a dictatorship can never do: it will admit the wrongs it has, wittingly or unwittingly, committed, and it will make up for them.

To-day Benjamin Franklin's word, that there never was a bad peace or a good war, no longer holds good. The hollow mockery of the "peace" of appeasement years was bound to end in a holocaust. When the London correspondent of the *New York Times* headed his despatch of May 9, 1939, "Churchill proposes encircling Germany", the word of the French statesman, Paul Boncour, should apply: "*C'est l'encerclement contre l'agresseur*"—it is the encirclement of the aggressor. It recalls President Roosevelt's famous phrase of the "quarantining" of the aggressor.

Or should Western civilization, with all its faults and weaknesses, have given way to a system which is reflected in the following piece of journalism (*Bodensee Rundschau*, March 3, 1942):—

"In the last war our nation lacked unity and our brave soldiers had to fight against a superiority of numbers and material. To-day it is ridiculous to imagine that Hitler will be defeated by the drunkard Churchill and the madman Roosevelt."

And speaking of drunkards—the dipsomaniac who leads the German Labour Front, Dr. Robert Ley, in an editorial in the

Angriff (June 14, 1942), wrote, under the charming headline "Terror, Murder, Famine—Thy Name is Churchill-Judah":—

"The Western democracies belong to the Jewish gang, and Churchill is at their head. . . . White Jews like Churchill and Roosevelt are worse than real Jews, and Churchill ought to be re-baptized 'Winston Churchill-Judah', so that everyone can see in whose service he is. . . ."

"I am the servant of King and Parliament", said Winston Churchill on more than one occasion, and the British people know in whose service Mr. Churchill works. They know that he is their servant—the man who stuck with them during the worst of the "blitz", who inspired them, not by cheap oratory or hysterical flag-waving, but by promising them victory by dint of toil and suffering. They have also come to know him as the man who was right—whose warnings made him unpopular but were borne out by events. He was the man who as early as 1935 said that "peace or war depends upon the Man of Berchtesgaden".

The perfidy of the Germans is shown in a broadcast to the United States on August 23, 1941, when a speaker of the Wilhelmstrasse had the temerity to tell a civilized nation that "now a President of the United States tied to the British chariot is trying to introduce slavery to Europe". This comes from people who have proclaimed their intention of establishing the domination of their master-race on the basis of the slave-labour of others. Thus it was stated by Dr. Frank, German Minister of Justice (*sic!*); and this again is in accordance with Bismarck's dictum, spoken when he instituted the first persecution of Poles in German territory: "Slavs are slaves."

Mr. Churchill was not, of course, the only man to foresee the war. Thousands of refugees from Germany and Austria, Jews, Democrats, Socialists, lifted their voices in warnings that were disregarded. While they were drifting from country to country, barred by immigration authorities, struggling hard for the right to live, to work, Ribbentrop was being received into certain salons in London, thousands of holiday-makers were admiring the beautiful scenery of the Black Forest or praising Germany's excellent motor roads. They did not see the concentration camps, the Gestapo cellars—they did not want to see them. A movement to boycott German goods was frowned upon everywhere; Lord

Rothermere waxed lyrical in the *Daily Mail* on "Germany, Country of Youth", and all was for the best in the best of all possible worlds. . . .

Except for Churchill—and a few others. Bertrand Russell, the philosopher who strove for fame and earned notoriety, said in a lecture at Cleveland, Ohio, in the spring of 1939:—

"The stars announce a world war for 1940. This war will lay Europe in ruins. At its end America will become the ruler of all states, the dictator of the world. . . ."

The stars were out by one year, it seems—apart from Bertrand Russell's other prognostication, which is sheer nonsense. We shall do well, anyway, not to heed the stars too much. Astrology, that *ersatz* religion, should have no place among reasonable people. It has proved itself a handy tool for Hitler; not only is he himself a believer in astrology, he has also found that the spread of astrology in this country tends to help him. If everything is pre-ordained by the stars, there is no need for any special effort, nor for intelligent anticipation. It is just that quality which was lacking in Britain's political leaders during the pre-war period; this created the cloudy darkness in which Hitler's meteor could rise.

Meteors rise—but they also fall and disappear. Not so the steady planet of Churchill which, though eclipsed from time to time, has always returned to light the darkest hour. . . .

Nazi invective is often amusing—unintentionally so. On January 21, 1940, the *Essener Nationalzeitung*, Goering's own paper, produced the following gem:—

"In his three luxurious palaces Churchill has no fewer than forty thousand fishes." (Goering obviously counts his fish before catching them—and his chickens before hatching them!) "None of them", the paper goes on, "may be caught and cooked, as he is most anxious to maintain his reputation as a friend of animals. Churchill often wades for hours in his ponds, watching his fish. What a comfort it must be to the First Lord of the Admiralty that he is at least undisputed master in his own fish-ponds."

As to that, the *Graf Spee*, the *Bismarck*, countless U-boats and other Nazi craft, now dead fish at the bottom of the sea, testify

to sea power which would seem to exceed the confines of a fish-pond. . . . Such cheap jeers defeat their own purpose—as do, incidentally, equally silly gibes directed at Hitler “the house-painter”, “the paper-hanger”, and similar designations. House-painting and paper-hanging are honourable callings, and a man is not demeaned by his origin but by what he has made of himself. One paperhanger unfortunately ended up by being Adolf Hitler—and there’s the rub. . . .

Hitler has a deep and lasting affection for the British people. The citizens of London and Coventry doubt it? But there is his own testimony—an article in *Das Reich*, broadcast by Luxemburg Radio on July 10, 1942:—

“We must count in England’s favour that the British people is better than its present leaders and does not deserve a charlatan like Churchill. But this does not alter the fact that he represents English policy and is our opponent, responsible for the conduct of the war. We would have wished for a worthier enemy. He is a nonentity; one need observe him only for a short while in order to see through him completely. And that imitation of an Englishman had to oppose us in this of all wars! That he should have the right in the name of part of the world to stand against the Führer is as humiliating for us as it is for the English.”

Leaders of the Allied nations would appear to disagree. There is Professor Gerbrandy, Prime Minister of the Netherlands, who stated in an interview (published in *Free Europe*, July 11, 1941):—

“Mr. Churchill is a statesman in the highest sense of the word, because he sees the connection between the interests of his own country and the interests of the world. His outlook is world-wide. When he speaks the whole world listens and sees in him a leader.”

To quote only one other voice. M. de Vleeschouwer, Belgian Minister for Colonies, said on August 27, 1942, when opening a war exhibition at Leopoldville, Belgian Congo:—

“Mr. Churchill is the personification of that British spirit which never loses confidence in itself, never weakens under the severest blows, and knows that it will win because it wants to win.”

But what does the Führer himself think of Churchill? He has occasionally overcome his well-known reluctance to speak, and told us. First came the blandishments directed towards the British people, and an admonitory finger wagged at Churchill—still called *Herr Churchill*. It was when France had fallen, Europe lay seemingly prostrate at Hitler's feet, and the foolish British might be made to see the light and give in without further struggle, that Hitler, in July 1940, said in a broadcast:—

"Mr. Churchill has just declared again that he wants war. Some six weeks ago he started the war in that sphere in which the British apparently believe themselves particularly strong—the air war against the civilian population, under the pretext of attacking so-called military objectives. . . . So far I have ordered scarcely any reprisals, but this does not mean that this is or will remain my only reply. It is quite clear to me that our answer, which will eventually come, will bring untold suffering and misery to mankind."

After this mixture of threats and hypocrisy, Hitler continued:—

"Misery—but not, of course, to Herr Churchill; for by that time he will no doubt be safe in Canada, whither the fortunes and the children of the leading war profiteers have already been removed. This time perhaps Herr Churchill will, by way of exception, believe me when I play the prophet and utter these words: in this way a great empire will be destroyed, an empire which I never intended to destroy or even harm. But it is clear to me that this fight will end only with the complete destruction of one of the two belligerent parties. I know that the party to be destroyed will indeed be England."

Is he still so sure?

"In this hour I consider it my duty before my conscience (*conscience—yes, he said it*) to make one more appeal to England's common sense. I am in a position to do so since I do not come begging as one who was defeated, but merely speak as the victor and in the name of common sense. I see no reason why this fight should continue. I regret the sacrifices which it will call forth. . . . Herr Churchill may reject my

declaration, exclaiming that it results from my fears and doubts of the ultimate issue. If so, I have, at any rate, relieved my conscience before the future. . . .”

The Fuhrer's conscience is working overtime. One is reminded of a lady of easy virtue declaiming about her honour—"methinks the lady doth protest too much". After discovering that his invocation of British common sense had not induced the British to drop it, he changes his tune. No *Herr* Churchill now; the Fuhrer mobilizes all his powers of subtle wit and clever esprit. The attentive listener to Hitler's broadcast of January 30, 1942, might discover traces of petulance, if not animosity, in this:—

“That twaddler, that drunkard, Churchill, what has he achieved in all his lifetime? That mendacious creature, that sluggard of the first order. Had this war not come, future centuries would have spoken of our age, of all of us and also of myself, as the creators of great works of peace. But had this war not come, who would speak of Churchill? True—one day they will speak of him—as the destroyer of an empire which he, not we, have ruined. One of the most abominable characters in world history, incapable of a single creative action, capable only of destruction. . . . There is Churchill and his clique, and, behind that corrupt and drunken individual, international Jewry who paid the bill. . . .”

Hitler seems worried about the British Empire; but Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin have given him other things to worry about by now. But is not this the typical ranting of the burglar who has been disturbed by the policeman and forced to disgorge his swag? No doubt future centuries would have spoken only of Hitler, had Britain not opposed him under Churchill's leadership: the victor writes the history books. And in the history books of the future, Hitler will remain an incident: not one of glory, like Napoleon, not one of foolhardy grandeur, like Charles XII of Sweden, but a shameful episode in the history of mankind, a backsliding from humanity to the anthropoid ape, a fall from grace, and a reminder that man is still nearer to the primeval slime from which he arose, than to the gods. . . .

Churchill is certain of the gratitude of the free nations. In

March 1941, the American magazine *Time*, not always pro-British in the past, chose Churchill as its "Man of the Year". Mussolini was picked as the greatest flop, while Stalin was criticized for his attack on Finland. Churchill certainly outranked all others as the man, we would say, not only of the year but of the epoch, in peoples' minds—even in Germany, to judge by the virulence of Nazi vituperation. "He gave his countrymen", says *Time*, "exactly what he promised them: blood, toil, tears, sweat, and one thing more—untold courage." And *Time* went on to pay him the following tribute:—

"Those burning words summed up the nature of Britain's war, turned Britain's back on the weaknesses of the past, and set her face toward an unknown future. Beside and behind Mr. Churchill stood a very small man multiplied a millionfold. He was just an Englishman. On that small man's behaviour hung the shape of the future. His civilized toughness, his balanced courage and his simplicity altered the course of history in 1940. Without him there could have been no Churchill."

We might also say that without Churchill there would not have been that tremendous resistance; for what Britain needed was a strong leader.

That word has lost favour in recent years, but we do not hesitate to use it. Neither did the official announcer of Moscow Radio who, on November 30, 1941, wished Mr. Churchill many happy returns of his birthday. "The Soviet people", he said, "join with their British ally in their good wishes for their leader, Winston Churchill. We are glad that Britain has the right man at the helm in her decisive hour."

A similar tribute came from another ally. The Chinese Congress of Cultural Workers at Chungking, at which five hundred authors and poets met in February 1942, expressed its deep admiration for the staunch and heroic fight of the British people, led by Mr. Churchill, and—a touching tribute from a people that has undergone untold suffering for six years now—their "profound understanding and sympathy for the hardships they are enduring". And a fitting summing-up of what the world thinks of Churchill was contained in the *New York Times* when it wrote, on May 21, 1942:—

"History will say greater things of Mr. Churchill, but perhaps the best current tribute is that without leadership of the kind he has given there would be no debate to-day in the Commons—certainly not the clamour of a militant England impatient to invade Europe."

Winston Churchill is not a giant among pygmies, as far as the question of British leadership is concerned. There are other capable men at his side, and even among those who oppose him. It would be shallow adulation to pretend otherwise. The truth is that a man of outstanding ability tends to raise the general level of those around him. This becomes particularly evident in parliamentary debate. Winston Churchill, always a stormy petrel in politics, has shown this by winning the respect even of those whose views clash with his own. In *Current History and Forum* (June 1941) Charles Rollo describes Bevin, Morrison, Cooper and Eden as the "strong men" who, next to Churchill, direct Britain's destiny. He says:—

"Asked to name the likeliest successor to Winston Churchill, descendant of the Duke of Marlborough, countless Britons would point to the son of a country labourer, a one-time farmhand, cart driver and union organizer, whose name is Ernest Bevin—'Ernie' to his friends, the workers."

After the last war Bevin helped to amalgamate the two great unions of transport workers. He became the first General Secretary of the joint organization in 1922, and has held this position ever since. But in 1920 deep political antagonism arose between Bevin and Churchill. Charles Rollo writes:—

"Bevin organized the 'Council of Action' to put an end to the war against the Bolsheviks that Churchill was backing. Bevin won; the war was stopped. Churchill had his revenge in 1926 when he smashed the General Strike of which Bevin was a leader. It is characteristic of the two men that these and other encounters, so far from leading to bitterness, resulted in a mutual respect that became a firm friendship when both started the fight for a bold stand against the dictators after Hitler's rise to power. To-day they make a fine working team. 'Whatever Mr. Churchill may have been in political life,' Bevin has said, 'I have never met a man of

greater resource, greater courage, greater determination in a crisis and greater loyalty to his colleagues.' "

It was Bevin who said in November 1940:—

"The old age has passed. A new age has to be built. If a working boy is good enough to handle a Spitfire, he is good enough to govern the country."

Bevin, like Churchill, wants to make sure that this war is won for the people. It is one of the Germans' fatal mistakes that they did not even hide their intention of allotting the fruits of their "New Order" to a small privileged caste and not to the whole of their own countrymen, let alone the other nations. One day even some Germans will awake to the fact of having been duped twice over; but then it will be too late for them to save themselves. There is one assertion of German propaganda which we must accept as true: the complete unity with which the German people have been backing Hitler and his gang. An interesting statement was made in this connection by Lewis Gallantière, head of the foreign intelligence department of the Federal Reserve Bank from 1926, when he came to New York from Paris, up to his retirement in 1939. Writing in *Forum and Century* in May 1940, at a period when many Americans still thought it possible to stay out of the "shooting war" by means of defensive measures and diplomatic adroitness, Gallantière said:—

"Those people are doing a puzzled and harassed world no good who encourage the German people to believe that they are irresponsible victims of their governors, that they are unanswerable to the world for what their governors do, and that it is somehow reserved for them alone to share in the fruits of civilization without the assumption of any duty or the fulfilment of any trust towards Western society as a whole."

Western civilization owes its survival to the man who kept Britain in the fight when the odds looked hopeless.

"On June 18, 1940," writes Ralph Bates,¹ "about one million men were on the ration strength of the British army. At least half of these were practically untrained recruits, and only part of the remainder were sufficiently trained to have

¹ *The Nation* (April 4, 1942).

been able to take the field had they possessed enough arms. As it was, only the Canadian corps of sixty thousand men was thoroughly equipped, and one British corps of the same size was nearing that condition."

Thus there were, according to Bates, only some one hundred and twenty thousand first-line troops standing between Britain and Hitler's threatened invasion. There were, of course, the hastily formed L.D.V.'s, later re-named Home Guard: about half a million men, poorly equipped and trained, and completely immobile. The real defences of Britain were then the Navy, weakened by the defection of the French fleet and facing an additional foe in the Italian navy, and the small R.A.F. There was no hope of new allies, or of large and immediate supplies. Britain in those days lived on its nerves. A feverish rearmament drive began, enthusiastically supported by the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress. The response of the working classes was tremendous; it was more than rhetoric when Churchill declared that "thousands of men and women did not remove their clothes for weeks at a time, and men worked until they dropped beside their lathes".

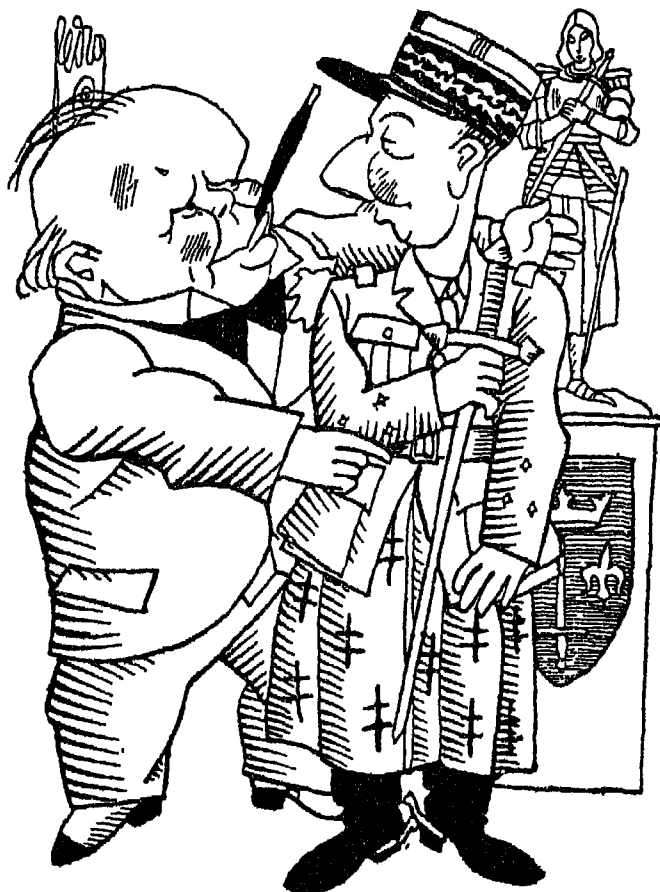
The pace set proved too severe to maintain and, in the interest of production itself, had to be relaxed. But a gigantic effort was kept up, and while delaying actions were fought throughout 1940 and during the early part of 1941, the initiative was regained and offensive action undertaken much sooner than the sorry heritage of the Chamberlain Government would have led us to believe.

Germany's dream of invading these isles is over. There have been, and will continue to be, air raids—though not on the scale of the "blitz"; but the fortress of Democracy stands unshakable, and from it the defenders will soon sally forth to their decisive sortie, carrying the war into the enemy's countries.

Who will deny that it was Winston Churchill who frustrated Hitler's plans? His role is well summed up in these words written by M. André Labarthe, editor of the anti-De Gaulle monthly, *La France Libre*, when he said in his preface to the French edition of Hugh Martin's Churchill biography:—

"Let us never forget that in the hours of misfortune, when France was sinking into darkness, Mr. Churchill held out his hand. . . . He is more than a leader; he has mastered Fate"

JEHANNE D'ARC FOR EVER



CHURCHILL-WARWICK. — *Hello ! Sacré Cauchon !*

(An untranslatable pun, referring to the Grand Inquisitor, Cauchon, who at the instigation of Lord Warwick condemned Joan of Arc to be burned at the stake. Joan's home was Lorraine, and the Cross of Lorraine is the emblem of Fighting France.)

Gringoire, Paris, May 8, 1942.

IV

TWO WORLDS MEET

AFTER the last war an inevitable reaction set in in America. Drawn into the quarrels and rivalries of Europe, that great idealist, President Wilson, saw his great conceptions submerged among the greedy clamour of the Peace Conference. He returned to America, an embittered and disillusioned man, who, before he died, had to see Congress reject participation in the League of Nations. In 1919 a state of mind was born that was to continue for twenty years—Isolationism; Versailles marked its birth, Pearl Harbour its demise.

Isolationism was not the prerogative of any political party; neither was it necessarily anti-British or pro-German. It was, in part, the natural revulsion of feeling engendered by recognition of the fact that the war intended "to make the world safe for Democracy" had had the opposite result—forgetting that America's abstention from the League of Nations was the chief cause of its failure. It was also the result of propaganda, harping on war debts and other causes of friction. The large Irish element in the United States, the Hearst press, and German influences combined to make the most of British mistakes. These mistakes were another, unintentional, contribution to Isolationism. Supercilious and patronizing lecturers, effete litterateurs, fox-hunting aristocrats as Britain's ambassadors on one side, blatant anti-British outbursts, like those of Mayor "Big Bill" Thompson of Chicago, on the other, did not make for an atmosphere of complete understanding.

This was the state of affairs at the outbreak of war. The period of the "phoney war" convinced many Americans that here was another European squabble which did not concern them. The Lindberghs and other dupes or tools of Germany did their best to exploit this situation. Yet isolationism was no cut-and-dried attitude. The same people who opposed an alliance with Britain contributed generously to the Bundles for Britain campaign, expressed their admiration for the heroism of the British people and, while advocating neutrality, bitterly opposed Nazi aggression and oppression. While attacking Churchill on the India issue, they admired his ability and devotion to his country.

The truth is that despite many set-backs in Anglo-American relations, American affection for their British kinsfolk has always triumphed. The sturdy, rugged pioneering spirit of the American has always retained something amounting to sentimentality in relation to Britain. There is the instinctive recognition of the fact that Britain and America share, not only one language, but fundamentally also the same cultural and spiritual values, despite certain differences in outlook and standard of living.

Comradeship-in-arms during the war, therefore, and continued collaboration between the two great nations after the war, is the natural outcome of this affinity; it is at the same time the indispensable prerequisite for a lasting peace and a sound reconstruction of the world. That this is now universally recognized is due to the unceasing efforts of Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt who, each in his field, established that mutual understanding and confidence without which the united front of Democracy could not have been built.

From the outset Mr. Churchill, with his customary perspicacity, foresaw the trend of events. William Griffin relates in *Scribner's Commentator* (February 1941) how he visited Churchill in London in August 1926. They discussed Anglo-American relations, political and economic; it was at a time when the question of war debts had created some friction. Griffin said:—

“I think the United States has learned its lesson, and when the next war starts in Europe we will stay at home and mind our own business.”

Churchill replied:—

“Well, the situation will be different when the next war starts in Europe. You may want to stay out of it, but the long arm of world events will reach right around the American Continent. The United States will be dragged in, and you will find yourselves fighting shoulder to shoulder with us in defence of our common democratic institutions.”

A remarkable prophecy, uttered fifteen years before it was fulfilled. That interview, incidentally, had an unpleasant sequel in 1939, shortly before the outbreak of war, when Griffin filed suit against Mr. Churchill for one million dollars damages, alleging that Mr. Churchill had denied the authenticity of the

interview. Griffin's suit was thrown out by the New York Supreme Court.

Criticism of Mr. Churchill continued in America during the early part of the war. Isolationists scrutinized his record with no friendly aim in view. Rush D. Holt, a former senator for West Virginia, rushed in with the following in *Scribner's Commentator* (July 1941):—

"Now that President Roosevelt has committed our country to partnership with England's Winston Churchill, we should come to know better the ideals and the past record of this partner who is to help our President carry the four freedoms throughout the world. . . .

"Prime Minister Churchill has been called the world's greatest statesman. He is pictured as a Sir Galahad who is riding forth to save the world from all evil. He is painted as a devoted lover of liberty and democracy. . . ."

After reading fifty books on Mr. Churchill the former senator comes to the conclusion that "his record is not one which could be called just that". He searches Mr. Churchill's record, especially his military career, with great thoroughness, and seems to blame him for having been with the Spanish army, and not the insurgents, in Cuba; with Kitchener, and not the Mahdi, at Omdurman.

Most of this kind of sniping has now disappeared. The Japanese have a proverb, "The echo answers the voice". The voice of Pearl Harbour has been answered by an America resolved to face the greatest sacrifices. Invasion, a contingency always pooh-poohed by isolationists, has become a very real possibility; and America has rolled up her sleeves and gone to it.

In August 1941, Mr. Churchill suddenly disappeared from London. "Where is Churchill?" was the universal question. Only a few people were in the know. Churchill's meeting with Roosevelt, like his subsequent visit to Moscow, was one of the best-kept secrets of the war. The two statesmen met on board the *Potomac*, somewhere in the Atlantic, and there was evolved that fundamental Bill of Rights for which Europe was waiting: the Atlantic Charter.

The importance of that new Magna Charta was immediately recognized on both sides of the Atlantic. Dean Frank Fleming,

Professor of Political Science at Vanderbilt University, writing in *Current History* (October 1941), describes the meeting of Churchill and Roosevelt which resulted in the Atlantic Charter as "the most important development in American foreign policy". For months many people on both sides of the ocean had asked for a statement on peace aims, but "Churchill and Roosevelt were too busy coping with the results of the Hitler-Mussolini meeting. They did not, either, have sufficient assurance of final victory to justify a peace programme. It was only the magnificent resistance of Soviet Russia, to use Churchill's phrase, that enabled them to propose a democratic peace, in a setting that symbolized the main stake of this war—control of the seas".

The meeting between the Prime Minister and the President finally gave the world a plan to end aggression. The Axis has compared the eight points of the Atlantic Charter with the famous fourteen points of Wilson which contained the following basic principles:—

1. The right of all peoples to rule themselves;
2. Freedom of trade the world over;
3. A League of Nations for common defence against attack.

According to Professor Fleming these principles are also the pillars of the Atlantic Charter, although the League is no longer mentioned. It is realized that in the world of the future the United States and Great Britain will have to exert a controlling influence—an influence that will take into account the justified demands of other allies: of South America, of China, of Soviet Russia.

Aid to Soviet Russia was, in fact, one of the main points under discussion at that historic meeting, and a joint message to Stalin suggested the conference which was later held in Moscow. The White House published its official statement on the Roosevelt-Churchill meeting and its proclamation of the Eight Points on August 14, 1941, and the following day the message, jointly signed by both, was delivered by the British and the United States ambassadors to Josef Stalin.

The importance of the Atlantic Charter will become even more apparent as the time draws nearer for its application. It has been attacked both by the enemy and nearer home, as being vague, nebulous, unsatisfactory. *Der Deutsche Volkswirt* (August 21,

1942), a German magazine on economics which has retained some traces of restraint and decency at least in its expression, tries to insinuate that the Atlantic Charter owes its origin chiefly to American influence and is designed to serve American interests. "Churchill has not the satisfaction", the paper writes, "that the Atlantic Charter has been evaluated in his country at more than its declamatory value. On the contrary: the British people is aware of the fact that they will not be able to do anything with the formula of Free Trade when they will have to face post-war difficulties."

The Charter has been found unsatisfactory by British critics, on the other hand, because they think that it leaves room for the maintenance of semi-fascist forms of government; that it does not touch upon the question of post-war settlements, frontier delineations and political systems. This contention would, *prima facie*, appear to be borne out by the fact that in the Russian-Polish frontier dispute which came into the open early in 1943, both sides quote the Charter in support of their contentions.

This kind of criticism misses an essential point. The Atlantic Charter is a programme, an enunciation of principles, and not a detailed blue print. It outlines the principles on which the Peace Conferences must base its deliberations, but it does not presume to anticipate their results in detail. President Roosevelt, in his message to Congress on August 21, 1941, summed up the essence of the Atlantic Charter, declaring:—

"The declaration of principles at this time presents a goal which is worth while for our type of civilization to seek. It is so clear-cut that it is difficult to oppose in any major particular without automatically admitting a willingness to accept compromise with Nazism, or to agree to a world peace which would give to Nazism domination over large numbers of conquered nations. Inevitably, such a peace would be a gift to Nazism to take breath—for a second war to extend their control over Europe and Asia to the American hemisphere itself. It is perhaps unnecessary for me to point out that the declaration of principles includes of necessity the world need for freedom of religion and freedom of information. No society of the world organized under announced principles could survive without these freedoms which are a part of the whole freedom for which we strive."

A typical Churchill speech was the Prime Minister's broadcast on August 24, 1941, after he had returned from that momentous meeting.

"I thought", said Mr. Churchill, "you would like me to tell you something about the voyage which I made across the ocean to meet our great friend, the President of the United States."

After describing their meeting in detail, he went on to say:—

"President Roosevelt is the thrice-chosen head of the most powerful State and community in the world. I am the servant of King and Parliament, at present charged with the principal direction of our affairs in these fateful days. And it is my duty also to make sure, as I have made sure, that anything I say or do in the exercise of my office is approved and sustained by the whole British Commonwealth of Nations. Therefore this meeting was important because of the enormous forces, at present only partially mobilized but steadily mobilizing, which are at the disposal of the two major groupings of the human family: the British Empire and the United States who, fortunately for the progress of mankind, happen to speak the same language and very largely think the same thoughts."

Self-exempted from this community of thought are isolated cranks, Quislings, and men like Charles A. Lindbergh who, in his address at Oklahoma City on August 29th, did not hesitate to say:—

"England may turn against us, as she has turned against France and Finland, before the war ends, if it becomes expedient to her welfare."

Lindbergh has evidently adopted one of Goebbels' most successful slogans, that of England's "fighting to the last Frenchman". Herr Lindbergh forgets that it was not England which turned against France, but Vichy which turned against France's former ally; he forgets that British sympathy with Finland manifested itself at a time when Russia's attitude was, to put it mildly, ambiguous.

But the detractors of the Atlantic Charter have not succeeded

in their purpose. Its meaning was summed up in those words which are also a typical example of the Churchillian style at its best (in the broadcast address of August 24, 1941):—

“The meeting was symbolic; that is its importance. It symbolizes in a form and manner which everyone can understand in every land and clime, the deep underlying unities which stir and at decisive moments rule the English-speaking peoples throughout the world. Would it be presumptuous for me to say that it symbolizes something even more majestic, namely, the marshalling of the good forces of the world against the evil forces which are now so formidable and triumphant, and which have cast their cruel spell over the whole of Europe and a large part of Asia.

“This was a meeting which marks for ever in the pages of history the taking up by the English-speaking nations, amid all this peril, tumult and confusion, of the guidance of the fortunes of the broad toiling masses in all the continents, and our loyal effort, without any clog of selfish interest, to lead them forward out of the miseries into which they have been plunged, back to the broad high road of freedom and justice. This is the highest honour and the most glorious opportunity which could ever have come to any branch of the human race.”

Despite German efforts to belittle the Atlantic Charter, the oppressed nations of Europe hailed it as the gospel of their coming liberation. The underground press in Holland, Belgium, France, devoted much space to it, and the nations groaning under the yoke of the oppressor drew renewed strength from its inspiration. Apathy and disappointment, fostered by unceasing Nazi propaganda, made way for a new spirit of hope.

Among the free nations, too, the spiritual effect of the Charter was tremendous. On its first anniversary, August 14, 1942, President Roosevelt, reaffirming it, said:—

“When victory comes we shall stand shoulder to shoulder in seeking to nourish the great ideals for which we fight.”

And in his message to the peoples of the democracies he added:—

“A year ago to-day the nations resisting the common barbaric force were units or small groups fighting for their

existence. Now they have formed a great union of humanity dedicated to the realization of that common programme of purposes and principles set forth in the Atlantic Charter through the world-wide victory over their common enemies. Their faith in life, liberty and independence, in religious freedom and in the preservation of human rights and justice in their own lands as well as other lands, has been given form, substance and power. It is to the single, supreme objective of defeating the Axis forces of aggression that the United Nations have pledged all their resources and efforts. . . .

"It is a worth-while battle. It will be so recognized through all the ages."

Indeed it is. From the Atlantic Charter emerged the spirit of the united fight against the common foe; from it also emerged the tremendous accretion of material forces marshalled, according to a master-plan, for the common purpose. To the German principle of beating their enemies singly, the leaders of the United Nations opposed the planned unity of production, strategy and command. This conception was expressed in the *United States News* of January 2, 1942. Under the heading "Churchill-F.D.R.: Meaning of New Collaboration" it stated:—

"Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt are binding a billion persons under five flags into an economic and military unit for total war against the quarter billion lined up on the Axis side. How quickly they can do that will determine the length of the war. . . . After the war has passed into its offensive stage will come the political agreement which envisages a common objective to fight for."

Churchill and Roosevelt were certainly not concerned with immediate measures only; the democracies have proved strong enough to take initial blows while their lasting strength prepares to swing into decisive action.

America's attitude to Winston Churchill can, without exaggeration, be described as enthusiastic. He proved far and away the best ambassador Britain ever had; while the personal intimacy he established with President Roosevelt went far beyond the prescribed official courtesies. Often the ash would grow long on

Roosevelt's cigarette and Churchill's cigar as they went over their problems in the oval-shaped upstairs study of the President, while the rest of the White House slumbered. They talked with Canada's Prime Minister, Mackenzie King, with other representatives of the far-flung British dominions; they kept in close touch with Russia's ambassador, Maxim Litvinov, with the Chinese envoy, Dr. Hu Shi, with the Netherlands Minister, Jonkheer Loudon. The telephone was kept busy; names of far-off places filled the conversation.

At a joint press conference the two statesmen cheerfully faced an army of reporters and a barrage of questions, which dealt, among other things, with man-power and production figures. The aggregate of the Axis armies' strength, as estimated by American observers, varies between a low of 10,600,000 and a high of 13,650,000; the man-power of the democracies is assessed variously as between 9,700,000 and 16,200,000—the difference resulting chiefly from varying estimates of the Russian and the Chinese armies. But man-power is not, in this war, the sole deciding factor; the weight of armour and material tilts the balance. In January 1942, only ten thousand out of America's one hundred and eighty thousand factories were turning out armaments; that figure has since been multiplied many times. And this tremendous aggregate of moral, industrial and man-power is even now being used, not defensively but for the great and decisive offensive of the United Nations. Rightly did an American paper point out in 1942 that "neither Winston Churchill nor Franklin Delano Roosevelt is defensive-minded. Mr. Churchill got tired of staying in jail once in the Boer War, scaled a wall and escaped. Mr. Roosevelt licked a disease and became President. They will spring to an offensive at the first opportunity. That was why Mr. Churchill smiled grimly this week. An offensive seems closer now than it did in those dark days when England was fighting alone." These lines were written at a time when, all unknown to their closest collaborators, Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt were planning their "tiger's leap" to Africa.

Britain is no longer fighting alone. The United Nations stand at her side, while a united nation backs its leader. This confidence is aptly summed up in an article in the Swedish paper *Dagens Nyheter* (January 23, 1942) which reads as follows:—

"The British people's love for Mr. Churchill is so deep that even bad reverses in the Far East were softened by the joy at his safe return. In that country trust in the head of the government does not have to be artificially cultivated. The man who for a long time was not considered capable of holding the highest responsibility has now become the heart in a world war of defence. That heart beat no less calmly and strongly when he stood alone before a continent that had bowed to German arms than it does now when President Roosevelt stands at his side."

This remarkable tribute is by a neutral paper! It concludes its editorial with these words:—

"After the splendid success Mr. Churchill had on his American visit, his prestige and confidence in victory are higher than ever. A glance was taken at war resources, and the conclusion was arrived at that next year the time will have come for a slowly waking giant to let the hammer blow fall."

In other neutral countries, particularly those spiritually influenced by France, Churchill has been called "Britain's Clemenceau"; a Swiss paper, throwing aside the meticulous caution observed by that country's press, exclaimed: "There is no man in the country who has more fighting spirit and more courage".

Future generations will praise as one of Churchill's greatest achievements that he was instrumental in transforming a military alliance, born out of the necessity of the moment, into a lasting and constructive partnership between two great nations. This was foreshadowed in the words spoken in the London Guildhall on September 2, 1941, by Major-General John, United States Commanding Officer of Services of Supply, European Theatre of Operations, when he said:—

"We have come over here for the duration, and none of us wants to return home until victory shall have crowned our united efforts. We must work trustfully together. There must be continued trust, confidence and good-will among English-speaking people."

After this war the masses of the people, both in Britain and the United States, will have come to realize that the common

bond between them supersedes external differences—differences that are sometimes interesting and sometimes irritating. The ocean does not separate, but unites, the two realms. In how far that newly-won sense of affinity will find expression in some form of organizational unity remains, of course, a matter for speculation at the present juncture. What is certain is that diversity does not preclude unity. Despite the immense variety of racial origin and language the American people has succeeded in establishing its unity, based on a deep-rooted feeling of nationality and patriotism. A passion for collective freedom and respect for the rights of the individual is the common basis on which the understanding between England and America rests. While it is true that the pioneers of America left the Old World because it stifled their desire for freedom, the time has come when Britain is leading the fight of the Old World to attain a way of living nearer to that of the New.

This war enhances the mutual interdependence of both worlds. America could not be built without the spiritual foundations she derived from Europe's heritage; whilst the time has come for Europe to look west. *Ex oriente lux* has been replaced by Churchill's telling quotation: "For westward, look, the land is bright!"

Some differences have to be overcome before the last remnants of distrust can be made to disappear. British politics at home and abroad have not always found approval in America. The *New York Times* (July 5, 1942) rightly criticizes the influence on British politics of the powerful financial interests of the City, exemplified by the prominent positions still held by men like Sir John Anderson—the "Tiger of Bengal" who employed his colonial methods during his brief and not very popular tenure of office as Home Secretary and Minister for Home Security. The unnecessary harshness displayed during the wholesale internment of friendly refugees—most of them Jews (Hitler's first victims and bitterest enemies)—will rightly be held against him.

But this war has become, not the war of the City and Wall Street, but the fight of the common man. This is the reason why all classes of the population back Churchill; this is why the people stomach even such relics of a bygone epoch of undiluted Tory rule, appeasement, and the Munich spirit, as are still to be found in high office. What Mr. Chamberlain disliked and deprecated has arrived: the "ideological" war, the clash

between two mutually exclusive conceptions of how human society should organize itself. This, the people instinctively feels, is the only kind of war worth fighting; and this is why they trust Winston Churchill. The Swiss paper *Baseler National Zeitung* (May 13, 1942) expresses the same idea in this striking homage to Mr. Churchill:—

“It will always remain an amazing fact that it had to come to the gravest danger to the fundamentals of British power before the leadership of the State was entrusted to the man who alone for a long time had recognized signs of danger and had unceasingly pointed to them. The extraordinary thing was that patriotism, administrative energy and the power of decision of this versatile and gifted personality had never been questioned by his opponents, but his judgment and sense of reality encountered stubborn distrust, although his brilliance, particularly in this respect, proved by his speeches, was destined to prove itself in an almost tragic manner. *Churchill knows he is at one with the feelings of his people, and he enjoys their deep-rooted trust.*”

This feeling of trust, so different from mere admiration, is enhanced in another Swiss paper, *Die Tat*, which wrote on the same day:—

“If Churchill still enjoys the confidence of his people in spite of their grave reverses and defeats, it is because he never promised them an easy and speedy victory. Admittedly the British people has eased his task since they themselves demanded the continuation and intensification of the struggle. It was not the ruling class which forced the people into the war: the people forced the ruling class to abandon all doubt, hesitation and uncertainty. Thus Churchill has found in the people themselves his support against the hesitant, the timid, and those trapped in tradition and red tape who, in the army and the world of finance, offered resistance to the total conduct of the war. When England, abandoned by her ally, France, in the midst of the battle, without the support of any continental state and without the hope of speedy help from America, stood steadfast under the mighty shower of German bombs, the British people and their leader, Churchill, gave an example that has already gloriously

entered the History of Mankind, of how a nation in an apparently hopeless position can resolutely defend its freedom."

It suffices to contrast these voices—two among many—with official statements made in Rome, in which Mr. Churchill's resolve to continue and intensify the fight is ascribed to the "desperate condition of British morale", and that "such cruel and cynical methods of warfare have probably been suggested to the British by the Americans".

In the meantime, the "desperate" state of morale in Britain has cost Italy the last remains of her empire, and it is just conceivable that the state of morale nearer home is beginning to worry the Italians. British morale, on the other hand, stood up single-handed to the full fury of the German onslaught at a time when America was still committed to help "short of war", that is, without the support of American man-power and armed forces. This magnificent stand, inspired by Winston Churchill, finally convinced the people of America that Britain would be a worthy partner in war and peace; it showed them that not some "ruling class", some "effete aristocracy" had appointed Britain's leadership, but that the common man was backing his government, here just as much as in America. And this is how America discovered that this war was no private quarrel, not one of the many European squabbles, but a fight for a worthy and, indeed, a paramount cause. Vice-President Wallace spoke for America and Britain when he said (May 8, 1942):—

"The peace must mean a better standard of living for the common man, not merely in the United States and England, but also in India, Soviet Russia, China and Latin America. . . . Everywhere the common man must learn to increase his productivity so that he and his children can eventually pay to the world community all that they have received. No nation will have the god-given right to exploit other nations. Older nations will have the privilege to help younger nations get started on the path to industrialization, but there must be neither military nor economic imperialism. The methods of the nineteenth century will not work in the People's Century which is now about to begin."

Perfection has not, of course, been reached as yet on either side of the Atlantic. There are dark spots galore: abuses that cry out for a remedy; old institutions that have outlived their usefulness. There is racial discrimination, the colour-bar that operates with equal injustice in North America and in South Africa. There is the grave sin, shared by both, of having vitiated the great conception of the League of Nations, which might have prevented this war: America, by her abstention from the League, Britain, by minimizing its importance and breaking, by her mis-handling of the Palestine Mandate, a trust confided her by the League. It is a list which could be prolonged almost indefinitely. Yet such enumeration of errors past and present serves a useful purpose if it results, as there is indeed reason to believe it will, in the earnest desire to treat the task of domestic and international reconstruction as an inter-related whole.

This realization sustains the free peoples and their leaders in the hard fight that lies ahead. Men like Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt have shown the world that there are things worth fighting for; and the first fruits are already visible. On New Year's Day, 1942, when Churchill again visited the United States, the representatives of twenty-six nations in Washington signed a declaration such as never before signed by allies. In it they pledged themselves to complete co-operation; they rejected any separate armistice or peace; but first and foremost they pledged themselves to a programme of common purpose and principles. They ratified on behalf of humanity the eight-point Charter drafted by Roosevelt and Churchill—the Atlantic Charter whose writ is to run from San Francisco to Vladivostok. Twenty-six nations, their number subsequently increased by the accession to their declaration of the Fighting French, of Mexico, Brazil and other states yet to come, adhere to the Charter. It represents the bone structure which the freedom-loving nations will clothe with the flesh of justice, peace and prosperity in freedom and justice, and into which they will breathe the living spirit of the brotherhood of man.

This united resolve to strike a blow for a new, a better world has been inspired in this hemisphere by Winston Spencer Churchill.

The closeness of Anglo-American co-operation in the actual conduct of the war is demonstrated by the fact that out of the

six journeys abroad undertaken by Mr. Churchill up to June, 1943, five have been devoted to conferences with President Roosevelt.

Four months after the Casablanca conference, at which the unconditional surrender of the Axis was postulated, Mr. Churchill appeared once again in Washington. In the meantime the plans of Casablanca had borne brilliant fruit; the policy of "unconditional surrender" had been accepted by von Arnim and the quarter of a million crack Axis troops under his command.

The great turning point of the war had arrived. North Africa, the southern glacis of the *Festung Europa*, had been cleansed of Germans and Italians, and had become the springboard for an allied invasion. The initiative had been captured by the allies; Germany, threatened with imminent invasion of her colonial continent, stood bewildered, not knowing where the blow would fall. More than half of the brief Russian summer had gone without the threatened German offensive—the best testimonial to the effective aid given to Russia by her allies.

At this crucial moment Churchill and Roosevelt met to perfect the last details of the grand plan which will make the enemy's unconditional surrender a reality. The hour for attack had struck. Addressing both Houses of Congress, Mr. Churchill stated, amid tremendous applause:

"All our war plans must be inspired, pervaded, and even dominated by the supreme object of coming to grips with the enemy . . . on the largest possible scale, at the earliest possible moment."

A far cry, this, from the grim back-to-the-wall days of 1940. Never had the Prime Minister's popularity been greater, both at home and abroad. He had taken the blame for military setbacks in the past: he could now claim the authorship of a brilliant victory. The man who had advocated large-scale amphibious operations in Gallipoli twenty-five years before—and had been ridiculed and obstructed by generals and admirals who would not share his bold conception—electrified the nation when, on his return early in June 1943, he announced the imminence of "large-scale amphibious operations".

His return journey was the occasion of much anxiety in England—an anxiety voiced by Mr. Herbert Morrison, the Home

Secretary. He told of the concern felt by the Cabinet whenever Mr. Churchill set out on one of his journeys, so full of hazard and peril. These perils were strikingly underlined when, just at the time of the Prime Minister's expected return, the Germans attacked and shot down a civilian aircraft on its way to England from Lisbon, and the famous actor, Mr. Leslie Howard, and fifteen others with him, perished. It had hitherto been the practice, established by a sort of tacit consent, not to molest civilian air traffic to and from Lisbon. There was a general conviction that the Germans had believed Mr. Churchill to be on board the aeroplane, and a wave of concern swept the country. In public and in private urgent appeals were addressed to the Premier not to travel abroad and put in jeopardy a life that could not be spared.

But the old war-horse would not tolerate the bridle. The well-meaning warners might have saved their breath and their ink, as Mr. A. J. Cummings wrote in the *News Chronicle* (June 8, 1943):—

“Mr. Churchill has an adventurous spirit, and he is utterly devoid of physical fear. If he thinks it necessary or desirable to make contact with other Allied leaders thousands of miles away or to talk personally to neutral statesmen or to visit the armies in the field no consideration of his own safety will hold him back; and I don't think he would yield to the persuasions of his closest friends.”

One of Britain's war-time slogans is, “*Is Your Journey Really Necessary?*” The results of the Prime Minister's journeys to Washington, Moscow and Casablanca supply an eloquent answer.

BRIDGING A GULF

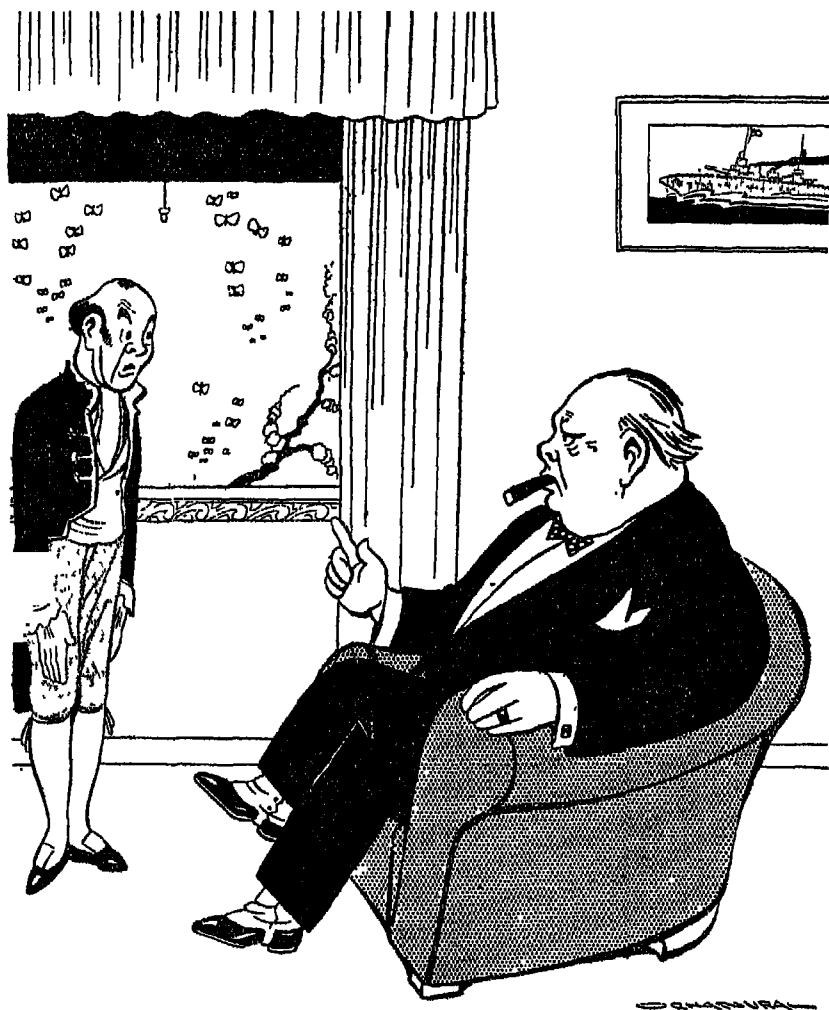
THE two dominant qualities in the make-up of a statesman are idealism and realism; his stature is determined by the degree to which these factors combine. Their extremes, like those of all qualities, constitute dangerous pitfalls: realism may degenerate into opportunism, the cult of expediency, and finally cynicism, whilst unrestrained idealism all too often leads either to the cloud-cuckoo land of illusion or to the arid wastes of fanaticism.

No aspect of British foreign policy has been more conducive to such errors than British relations with Soviet Russia. If there is one subject on which no politician has managed to be consistently right, it is the U.S.S.R. This must to a large degree be ascribed to the lack of impartial and reliable information.

The number of books, newspaper articles, stories and other statements about Russia, produced during the twenty-five years of the Soviet régime, is legion; but there were very few not influenced by partisanship and *parti pris* of one kind or another. Books about Soviet Russia were always intended to prove something or other—ranging from the existence of Heaven on Earth to the disclosure of a Jewish world-conspiracy.

This state of things was complicated by several factors. Not many people realized that Russia, like everything else under the sun, was in a constant state of transition. People who based their approval or condemnation of the Soviet system on any one period in the long evolution from the militant war-communism of 1917 to the present day were apt to overlook that there are several Russias.

There is the Russia that is an essentially agricultural country, undergoing a rapid process of industrialization, with all its attendant growing-pains. There is the Russia that was invaded by foreign armies, after she had undergone a terrible blood-letting during the first world-war: a country whose war lasted for five additional years, years of foreign intervention and civil war. Much of the distrust which made Russia suspect evil designs from the West, and surround herself with a Chinese wall of secrecy and mystery, derives from that period. ✓



'Close that window, they annoy me!'

Akkaba, Istanbul, June 6, 1941.

There is the Russia that, for a time, instigated and fostered revolutionary movements in other countries. There is a Russia of plotting and counter-plotting, of intrigue and fighting for power in the State—a struggle the intricacies of which the West could not understand, and the rights and wrongs of which the beholder could not distinguish.

But there is also the Russia which has remained the same, under whatever political system, be it that of Peter the Great or that of Joseph Vissarionitch Stalin. It is the Russia whose dangers and ambitions are determined by its geographical position; whose riches have produced both the greed of the invader and the means of defending the country; the Russia which from her teeming millions can raise the largest army of all Europe—in brief, Russia, the factor in power politics. Guns on Finnish soil would still threaten Russia's second city, be it called Leningrad or St. Petersburg; the shape of the Black Sea determines Russian policy in that area, whether Sasonov or Molotov direct the Foreign Office.

No man has seen this more clearly than Winston Churchill. And very few politicians have been able, as he was, to dissociate a political system they dislike, from questions of policy determined by the vital interests of states whose systems of government differ.

It is a sad reflection on the sagacity of the same British leaders, who for years kept Churchill out of office, that they allowed Anglo-Russian relations to deteriorate while witnessing Germany's progressive rearmament and Hitler's rise to power. German rearmament did not begin with Hitler: it was started behind the façade of the Weimar Republic. And so was the *rapprochement* between Germany and Russia. German armaments were manufactured in Russian factories; officers of the Reichswehr maintained cordial relations with their opposite numbers in the Red Army; and while the western democracies cold-shouldered Russia, Germany established flourishing trade relations with her.

When Hitler established his régime, certain seemingly paradoxical events perplexed the outside world. Hitler initiated a violent persecution of Communists and Socialists, but was at pains to maintain correct relations with Russia. Soviet Russia, on the other hand, while condemning Fascism in her propaganda and official utterances, closed her frontier hermetically against

all political refugees. No more than a handful of Communist functionaries were permitted to seek refuge in Russia, and their subsequent careers were of short duration. Trade, meanwhile, flourished. It seemed to be a case of extremes meeting, of a wheel turning full circle.

Yet all was not well beneath the surface. Russia, partly through her own faults, found herself in a position of dangerous isolation. Many times had the German invader ravaged her fields. The German *Drang nach Osten* remained the same under Hitler as it had been under Bismarck, or seven hundred years before, when Prussian knights rode east. She had to play a waiting game with Hitler; and while appeasement was the watchword of the West, a similar policy appeared unavoidable to the Kremlin.

Appeasement must end in war. Churchill realized this. When the Chamberlain Government gave pledges that were incapable of fulfilment to Poland and Rumania—as it had done in the case of Czechoslovakia—Churchill called for an alliance with Russia.

But the same politicians who had excluded Russia from the Munich conference were content to be represented in Moscow by inferior officials of minor importance. Germany, on the other hand, pressed her advantage: the hesitancy and irresolution of the Democracies carried its own object lesson; and on August 23, 1939, von Ribbentrop flew to Moscow and concluded a non-aggression pact.

Seldom has there been a greater misnomer: this pact meant war, and war broke out a week later. Germany had, for the time being, exorcized the spectre of the war on two fronts, that nightmare of the German General Staff. Now she was free to strike at Poland.

Soviet Russia's action created dismay in Britain—dismay increasing to violent vituperation when, on September 17th, after Polish resistance was already broken and organized defence had collapsed, she marched in and occupied the Eastern half of Poland. The very papers here which had supported the shameful betrayal of Munich outdid each other in accusations of "stabbing Poland in the back". When the Soviet Union subsequently strengthened her position in what later turned out to be a defensive glacis, by occupying first bases and subsequently the whole of the Baltic States, such accusations reached a crescendo.

Again it was Winston Churchill who, almost alone, appraised events in their correct proportions. On October 1, 1939, reviewing the first month of war in the House of Commons, he made the following statement—a statement which did not then enhance his popularity but was proved right by events:—

“We could have wished that the Russian armies should be standing on their present line as the friends and allies of Poland instead of as invaders—”

(Mr. Churchill was too tactful to mention that the Polish Government of that day had refused to permit even the transit of Russian troops offered at the time of the Munich crisis.)

“—But that the Russian armies should stand on this line was clearly necessary for the safety of Russia against the Nazi menace . . . an Eastern front has been created which Nazi Germany does not dare assail . . . Ribbentrop had to learn, and accept the fact, that the Nazi designs upon the Baltic States and upon the Ukraine must come to a dead stop.”

And Mr. Churchill went on to give the following forecast, the truth of which was to become evident two years later:—

“ . . . the action of Russia . . . is a riddle . . . but perhaps there is a key. That key is Russian national interest. It cannot be in accordance with the interest or safety of Russia that Nazi Germany should plant itself upon the shores of the Black Sea. . . . That would be contrary to the historic life-interests of Russia. . . . Through the fog of confusion and uncertainty we may discern quite plainly the community of interests which exist between England . . . and Russia . . . ”

Came the winter of 1939, and Russia's war with Finland—a tragic episode which was only later evaluated at its real importance by public opinion. It was a conflict between two equally just claims: a small State's independence, and a large State's military safety. Finland, a small State sandwiched between two giant dictatorships, had to suffer the unavoidable consequences of her position. She has now been forced into more or less active participation on the Axis side, but there are many signs that her heart is not in the struggle.

However, the Russo-Finnish war, combined with certain anti-

allied utterances by Foreign Commissar Molotov, notably in his neutrality speech on March 29, 1940, did not improve relations. Yet few people here, apart from Winston Churchill, realized that the wily Russians satisfied the Germans with speeches, whereas supplies for Germany fell far short of Nazi expectations. Something always happened to delay consignments of oil or copper; sand got into petrol tanks, shipments miscarried. Russia did not aid Germany, but formed a barrier to her progress. Churchill stated in the House:—

“The Russian Soviet Government, embodied in the formidable figure of Stalin, has barred off once and for ever all Nazi dreams of an advance in the East.”

Meanwhile the situation was not improved by the despicable antics of the Communist Party at home whose activities, we feel sure in asserting, must have embarrassed the Russian Government more than our own. That party shifted its stance with the nimbleness of trained poodles. On September 1, 1939, it welcomed the war against Fascism; a few days later it discovered that the war, for which it had been clamouring, was, after all, an “imperialist war”. Consequently they did their best to hamper the war effort, activities which finally led to the banning of the *Daily Worker*.

The war ceased to be an imperialist war, and became one worthy of the support of British Communists on June 22, 1941, when Germany invaded Russia. Ever since that day the Communists have tried to cash in on the natural sympathy felt for our Russian ally. They will not admit that an alliance with Russia does not necessarily imply an alliance with the sum total of economic and political conceptions forming the ideology of the Communist Party of Russia. By ordering the dissolution of the Communist International in May 1943, Stalin gave proof both of the truth of this contention and of his political realism.

Mr. Churchill gave proof of sublime honesty and realism combined when he stated in his memorable speech of June 23, 1941:—

“The Nazi régime is indistinguishable from the worst features of Communism. . . . No one has been a more consistent opponent of Communism than I have been for the

last twenty-five years. I will unsay no word that I have spoken about it."

Thus speaks the idealist who does not forsake his principles for the sake of expediency. But now the realist continues:—

"But all this fades away before the spectacle that is now unfolding. The past with its crimes, its follies, and its tragedies flashes away."

In his own inimitable style Mr. Churchill then stresses the common ties of humanity that despite all differences unite us with each other:—

"I see the Russian soldiers standing on the threshold of their native land, guarding the fields which their fathers had tilled from time immemorial, and I see them guarding their homes where mothers and wives pray—ah, yes, for there are times when all pray for the safety of their loved ones, for the return of the breadwinner, of their protector. I see the ten thousand villages of Russia where the means of existence was wrung so hardly from the soil, but where there are still primordial human joys, where maidens love and children play.

"I see advancing upon all this in hideous onslaught the Nazi war machine. . . ."

To Mr. Churchill, this came as no surprise. He had, in fact, warned all the neutrals—who failed to realize that there can be no neutrality in a war in which civilization itself is at stake:—

" . . . I gave clear and precise warning to Stalin of what was coming. I gave him warning as I have given warnings to others before. I can only hope that these warnings did not fall unheeded."

They did not. And it was therefore no empty gesture, no meaningless guarantee given by a weak and vacillating government to an unreliable partner, when that great speech culminated in the declaration which has become the cornerstone of Anglo-Russian relations:—

"We have but one aim and one single irrevocable purpose. We are resolved to destroy Hitler and every vestige of the

Nazi régime. From this nothing will turn us—nothing. . . . Any man or State who fights against Nazism will have our aid. Any man or State who marches with Hitler is our foe. . . .”

These words, clear-cut and unambiguous, wiped out two decades of distrust and misunderstanding. At the same time they define Britain's attitude towards those States which, from choice or necessity, gave support to the Axis; the subsequent declarations of war against Finland, Rumania and Hungary were the logical outcome of this statement. And now comes a promise which was not only kept but over-fulfilled:—

“ . . . We shall give whatever help we can to Russia and the Russian people. . . . We have offered to the Government of Soviet Russia any technical or economic assistance which is in our power and which is likely to be of service to them.”

This promise, given barely a year after Dunkirk, was faithfully observed. Under the faint rays of the midnight sun and in the darkness of the Polar night the convoys from Britain made their perilous way through arctic waters. The Merchant Navy and the naval forces covering the convoys sustained heavy losses; German submarines and aircraft, sallying forth from their Norwegian lairs, made the Northern supply line hazardous. But the convoys arrived, supplying Russia with large quantities of invaluable supplies.

The assistance given exceeded the economic and technical field. Squadrons of the R.A.F. took part in the defence of Leningrad; the British air onslaught on Germany and Western Europe tied down thousands of German planes, millions of soldiers and technical personnel—an immense force which, if thrown against Russia, would have sealed her fate.

At the other terminus of Russia's lifeline, British action in Iraq and Persia dealt promptly with another threat to Russian provisioning.

All this aid began while Hitler's armies advanced with seemingly irresistible impetus; at a time, indeed, when some observers doubted whether Soviet Russia could hold out, and whether it was safe to risk valuable supplies.

But Russian resistance was magnificent. For the first time

Hitler's armies found their match, and more, in land warfare. This resistance, incidentally, proved how right Soviet Russia had been to establish her western glacis in Poland and the Baltic States. Had Germany been able to launch her assault from bases on the old Polish frontier, hundreds of miles nearer to Moscow and other vital centres, the course of the war might have run disastrously different.

Mr. Churchill's assurance of the utmost aid for Russia was followed by deeds. At a time of considerable peril for herself, Britain did not allow considerations of her own safety to stand in the way of aid to the Soviet Union. Churchill revealed in the summer of 1942 that during a period of nine months over two thousand tanks were sent to Russia. By May 1942, one hundred and eleven aircraft were actually sent for every hundred promised; and similarly did America send armaments and medical supplies in large quantities.

Towards the end of May 1942, a Russian airplane landed somewhere in England. From it descended a middle-aged man described as "Mr. Brown". Days of strenuous conferences followed, in which "Mr. Brown" and Mr. Churchill were the protagonists, supported by military and political experts. On June 12th it was revealed that the mysterious visitor had been none other than M. Molotov, the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs. An Anglo-Russian Mutual Aid Pact for twenty years had been concluded on May 26th, which not only dealt with current problems of a military and supply character but "undoubtedly laid the foundations for the creation of a new League of Nations", as the official communiqué expressed it.

Thus had Winston Churchill been able finally to overcome mutual distrust, and to establish an alliance which, apart from its military importance, may have important repercussions after the war.

One unintentional result of the treaty was the clamour for a Second Front, set up by well-meaning people whose offensive spirit was not hampered by even a sketchy knowledge of the problems of strategy and supply involved. Sinister motives were imputed to the delay in establishing this front; it was a clamour fomented assiduously by the Communists, and exploited by the Prime Minister's opponents. Reproaching Britain—a Britain still licking the wounds of Dunkirk, a Britain fighting and suffering

on many fronts in the Far East—of bad faith in regard to Russia is just as unfair as it would be to reproach Russia because she opened no Second Front against Japan, when that country treacherously attacked Russia's allies.

While these attacks multiplied, Winston Churchill's lips remained sealed. He knew what his critics did not know and could not be told: that even then Churchill and Roosevelt were completing their plans for the invasion of North Africa, for the establishment of that very front which the armchair strategists wished to create on the Channel Coast. They did not have to count the cost: Churchill had to, for his was the responsibility. And so he stayed silent, while his attackers in Parliament and press reaped facile applause, and his popularity began to diminish. Raymond Daniel, London Correspondent of the *New York Times*, summed up the prevalent impression in his despatch of July 4, 1942, when he wrote:—

“It is difficult to tell whether the week's parliamentary jousting between the Government and a small handful of constant critics has strengthened or weakened Prime Minister Churchill's hand. . . . The next time there is a severe reverse for British arms the Prime Minister will have to answer for his intransigence. . . .”

Nine weeks later, the Prime Minister was no longer on the defensive. When he faced the House again, two events had happened which were tokens of good faith. One was the raid on Dieppe—not a “Commando” raid, as Mr. Churchill was at pains to point out, but a “reconnaissance in force”, foreboding things to come. The other was his highly successful visit to Moscow.

The Russian leaders, Mr. Churchill reported to the House, had frankly expressed their doubts as to whether the British and the Americans were doing enough to take the weight from their shoulders. Mr. Churchill, in a full and frank discussion, readjusted Russian perspective. “It is difficult to make the Russians comprehend all the problems of the sea and of the oceans. We and the Americans are sea and ocean animals, the Russians are land animals. . . .” What Mr. Churchill did not tell the House, but may have told Stalin, were the advanced preparations for one of the greatest amphibious expeditions ever carried out: the

invasion of North Africa which was to take place barely three months later.

This was the first personal meeting between the leaders of Britain and Russia; and Mr. Churchill, in his inimitable style, gave the following description of his meeting with Stalin:—

“It was an experience of great interest to me to meet Premier Stalin. The main object of my visit was to establish the same relations of easy confidence and perfect openness which I have built up with President Roosevelt, and I think that, in spite of the accident of the Tower of Babel which persists as a very serious barrier, I have succeeded to a very considerable extent.

“It is very fortunate for Russia in her agony to have this great rugged war chief at her head. He is a man of outstanding personality suited to the sombre and stormy times in which his life has been cast. He is a man of inexhaustible courage and will-power, a man direct and even blunt in speech, which, having been brought up in the House of Commons, I do not mind at all, especially when I have something to say of my own.

“Above all, he is a man with that saving sense of humour which is of high importance to all men and to all nations, but particularly to great men and great nations. Premier Stalin also left upon me an impression of deep, cool wisdom and a complete absence of illusions of any kind. I believe I made him feel we are good and faithful comrades in this war, but that is a matter which deeds and not words will prove.”

This meeting was of enormous importance. It ratified the pact of May 26th; it clarified American-Russian relations, and it finally disposed of doubts and rumours concerning a possible separate peace between Russia and Germany. The Swiss paper *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (August 18, 1942) remarks:—

“The very form chosen for the official communiqué shows that the political differences between the United States and Russia, which seemed almost insurmountable a year ago, have now been overcome by a common political conception, at least in so far as the war with Germany is concerned.”

And regarding the Second Front clamour, the neutral paper adds:—

“The Russo-British alliance has successfully stood the hard test of the German advance towards the Caucasus, of military setbacks, and of differences of opinion that were at times serious. It is noteworthy that the communiqué on the Moscow deliberations does not say a word about the ‘Second Front’; possibly this indicates that a stage of propaganda has been overcome.”

The London Correspondent of the same paper hints that certain strategic moves had been agreed upon by the Russian, American and British generals who participated in the Conference. “The British public”, he writes, “is convinced that what took place in Moscow was not a mere exchange of civilities, but something decisive in the field of actual warfare.”

Anglo-Russian comradeship-in-arms is now a fact, thanks to the far-seeing statesmanship of Mr. Churchill. The combination of realism and idealism which dominates his political outlook has enabled him to conquer obstacles of many years’ standing.

True, not all the difficulties have been overcome. When a new front will have been established on the continent of Europe—and while these lines are being written all indications point in that direction—the last remainder of suspicion will melt away in Russia. Other problems remain: frontiers and zones of influence will have to be delineated, a balance will have to be established between expansionist claims and those caused by defensive needs. In an atmosphere of trust all such questions will be settled more easily than could have been the case under any leadership other than that of Churchill.

And the newly-established amity with Russia may well have other results as well. Contact conduces to mutual influence and shows nations what they can with advantage learn from each other. Observation of the Russian way of life may well teach us what single-mindedness and concentrated purpose can achieve in peace as well as in war: it may prevent us from relapsing, once the war is over, into old, undisciplined ways. What could humanity not achieve, were it to devote to the tasks of peace the same collective effort and spirit of sacrifice as it does to the prosecution of a war! Not a new thought this—yet one of the lessons the

West can draw from Soviet Russia's preparedness, which alone enabled her to withstand the German onslaught.

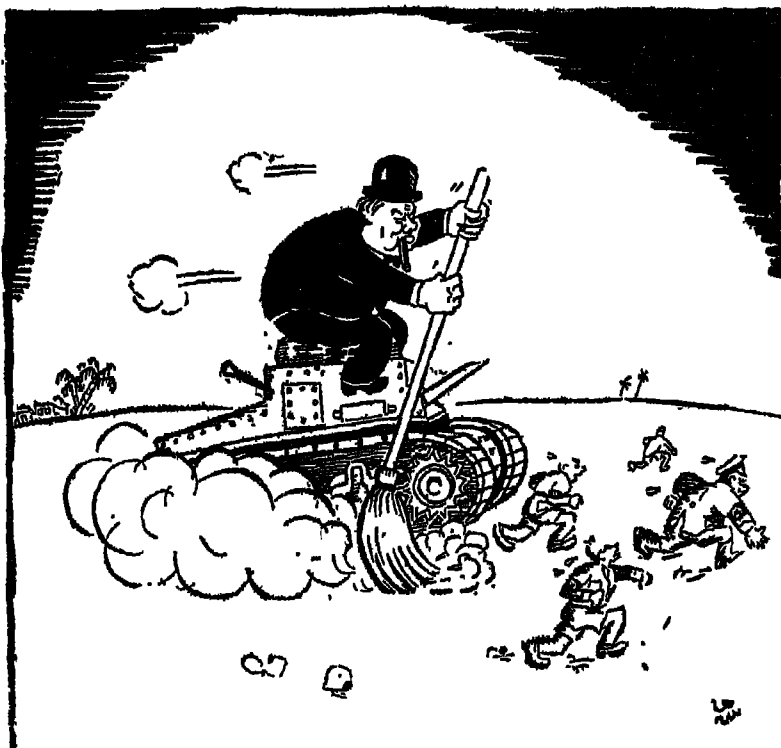
And Soviet Russia? She may yet draw nearer to Western conceptions of individual and civic liberty. The Londoners who weathered the blitz were not, our Russian friends will admit, downtrodden serfs kept in the fight by the overseer's whip. No force on earth could have induced men and women cheerfully to bear hardships and dangers of such magnitude, except the moral strength deriving from the conviction that democracy, with all its imperfections, is yet a living force, and one worth preserving. Soviet Russia may yet value a more liberal system, one that does not limit freedom of expression to the tenets of one party.

Trade and cultural intercourse will be the means of making the twenty years' treaty between Britain and Soviet Russia a mighty factor in promoting peace and understanding in the post-war world. When this comes about, it will be well to remember that it was Winston Churchill who built the bridge.

LA NACION

¡OTRA VEZ LA ESCOBA!

Por TONI



"Mopping Up!"

La Nacion, Buenos Aires, December 31, 1942

VI

ARCHITECT OF VICTORY

THE present fashion in biography has veered from hero-worship to what is called "de-bunking". Since no man is supposed to be a hero in the eyes of his valet, history, one is led to assume, must be written by, and for, valets. Lest the "de-bunkers" apply their standard to the foregoing pages and accuse them of being propaganda, we hasten to assure them that our object is neither propaganda nor fiction. We have demonstrated that no amount of propaganda could have built up Churchill into one of the greatest leading statesmen of our epoch; and, indeed, what propaganda accompanied his long and arduous struggle was adverse propaganda well calculated to quench most other men. Neither do we indulge in fiction. This is no time for fiction, but one for facing facts and realities. We have had too much fiction in the past—including the fiction of "appeasement", the fiction of "non-intervention" in the Spanish civil war, the fiction of leaders that failed and statesmen that weren't.

But we admit to being old-fashioned enough to find a worthy subject of admiration in the character and the achievements of this man Winston. For that is the name by which he is known, affectionately, in the Admiralty as in Fleet Street, in the House and in the Athenaeum Club, and among the people throughout the English-speaking world. He is known as the man who works equally hard at his job and at his hobbies.

Winston Churchill's recreations—when he still had time for recreation—are characteristic of the man who possesses the soul and the capabilities of the artist. His activities are creative, be it the painting of a picture or the building of a brick wall. Mr. Churchill's paintings, mostly landscapes, betray real talent. They were exhibited and, what is more, sold at good prices, under the pseudonym of "Claude Morin".

An artistic bent is sometimes dangerous when possessed, or desired, by men in public life. The unsuccessful artist, the ardent dilettante, turns sour, embittered and vindictive when his aspirations fail to reach fruition. There is a long trail of such failures in history, from Nero, the amateur musician, to Hitler, whose

paintings are as bad as his writing style is repulsive, and Goebbels, whose plays and poems were so often and so unanimously rejected by publishers that only two explanations remained for "Truthful Joe". Either his stuff was bad—which was unthinkable—or there was, there must be, an international Jewish conspiracy to keep his talent down. And thus Goebbels strove for and gained the power of getting his own back on publishers and critics. . . .

Mr. Churchill, however, is no mere amateur. He approaches his painting in a serious spirit, as exemplified in his own words:—

"Painting a picture is fighting a battle. It is the same kind of problem as unfolding a long, sustained, interlocked argument. It is a proposition which, whether of few or numberless parts, is commanded by a single unity of conception."

This is a very revealing observation. "Unity of conception"—this is, indeed, the secret of success in painting as well as in politics, in writing as well as in war. And it is also typical of him that instead of indulging in the usual form of British relaxation, the knocking about of little balls with instruments singularly ill-fitted for the purpose, his scanty hours of leisure are, or were, filled with work both creative and aesthetically satisfying.

In his quarters in Downing Street the Prime Minister is now surrounded by the skilfully-painted landscapes (he is entirely self-taught) which he brought with him from the Admiralty. American papers relate that he used to take brush and palette with him on his trips to the Continent. Shortly after the last war, when he attended the Cannes Conference, Mr. Churchill would frequently visit the picturesque village of Roquebrune, famous for its cheese, and paint the changing scene.

Lord Curzon, who presided at the conference, stayed at the same hotel as Mr. Churchill. Priding himself on being a connoisseur of art, Lord Curzon asked him to show him some of his paintings. It should be added that the late Sir William Orpen, then regarded as one of the foremost British painters, was official painter at the Peace Conference. Mr. Churchill produced a landscape which Lord Curzon, after prolonged inspection, pronounced as very good on the whole, but spoiled by a group of figures in the foreground. Churchill answered: "I am sorry about

that; I asked Orpen to put those in for me as they were a bit difficult."

The man who is an individualist—who likes to appear in unusual clothes, in slightly eccentric hats, in his famous "siren suit" and in shoes not laced in the orthodox style but fitted with zip fasteners—has another unusual hobby: bricklaying. For years his week-end garb was that of a bricklayer, and this hobby, too, was taken seriously by the man who prefers building to tearing down. He worked hard at bricklaying, building a cottage on his estate in Kent, until he had attained a degree of proficiency that enabled him to lay a brick a minute. He approached the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers in order to become a member. At first he was rejected on account of his non-professional status; but he persisted, and after much earnest discussion he was accepted as "adult apprentice" in 1928. He built many walls and outhouses on his Kent estate, and when he moved into the Admiralty at the outbreak of war and found that brick walls to stop blast had to be built in its corridors, he would frequently come down and watch his "mates" with keen interest.

Builder of walls to defend Britain, architect of victory, builder of a better world—a fitting epitome of Winston Churchill!

Winston Churchill—the man who would walk to his office in the Admiralty at a quarter to ten every morning, humming a cheerful little tune like any postman, engine-driver or engineer about to do a job of work. A characteristic expression, this, of the man's cheerfulness and that lifting of the heart to which every foreign visitor who met him has testified.

There was less time for singing and still more work when war came and anchored him to his big room in the Admiralty whose two large windows overlooked the Horse Guards Parade, and the car park in St. James' Park from which, as petrol rationing became more stringent, the cars of the denizens of Whitehall began to disappear. It was a warm and cheerful room, with historic associations that could not fail to inspire the man working in it. A coal fire would blaze in the grate, two arm-chairs, upholstered in red leather, gave comfort to the visitor. No such creature comfort was needed by the man who assumed office as shipping losses were rising in a grim upward curve. His chair had no upholstery, only a curved wooden back. The desk had a telephone on it, some papers, tidy and in order; it did not look

like the desk of a poet or artist, and certainly not like that of a hard-working journalist. A table stood nearby, bearing a set of glasses, a syphon of soda water and a biscuit tin. On the walls were signed photographs of Jellicoe, Beatty and other Sea Lords of the last war; there was an oil painting showing the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and another, painted by Samuel Stott in 1772, depicting a view of Westminster. There was also a chart, presented to Churchill during the last war when he was Minister of Production, showing a graph of gun production of which he is still proud. But the room was, of course, dominated by pictures of the sea. A picture of the Victory of Camperdown hung over the mantelpiece, over a clock and a plain little mirror.

From this room, in which little reminded Churchill of his private life and past, he used to cross over to the Cabinet meetings in Downing Street; and from here he moved to No. 10, Downing Street, in those fateful days of May 1940.

From this room he would go home for lunch and dinner, return to his work again. Here, he would dictate his memoranda, letters, articles and books. He would walk up and down, dictating easily and hardly ever halting or correcting what had been taken down. His work would be interrupted by occasional callers, or by a conference with the Admiralty chiefs. Those conferences were held at the five-sided table, covered with blue baize, which took up the centre of the room. The maps hanging on the wall near the fireplace were consulted; others could be let down from the ceiling by an arrangement of ropes over pulleys, and there was a very large globe standing on the floor.

From this room he waged his great battle for keeping open the Atlantic life-line, his fight for the freedom of the seas, and the final struggle that was to bring him into No. 10, Downing Street. During the battle of Narvik he was often called to this room after only a few hours of sleep at home, when he was not using a truckle bed in the Admiralty itself. When staying at home, he would rise at 7.30 a.m., when a despatch case full of urgent papers would already await him. He studied them for an hour, called for his secretary to whom he dictated notes and replies to be typed on the spot, and then he would dress for the Cabinet meeting at 10.30 a.m.

When he became Prime Minister he had to change many of his habits. He now rises at seven, and rarely goes to bed before

three in the morning, yet never has his breakfast before doing some work. Occasionally he takes a short nap after lunch, binding a piece of black velvet over his eyes to shut out the light. Green baize doors protect his rooms against the intrusion of sound, and the Prime Minister refreshes his mind by a short sleep. This faculty of having a nap at will he shares with Napoleon and other great men, deriving from it the equivalent of several hours' sleep in the ordinary way. This gift enables Churchill to work an eighteen-hour-day week after week. He never retires before midnight, often much later; and sometimes rouses his principal advisers from their beds at half-past six in the morning.

His speeches have always the appearance of felicitous improvisations—which is explained by the fact that they are the result of very thorough and careful preparation. He usually puts down only a short key sentence or two which are then worked up into a speech. When he delivers it he lifts his head, giving a convincing impression of speaking extempore, although he never departs from the written text. His typical stance is well known: arms hanging down his side, palms forward, his face thrust forward aggressively while his eyes search the faces of his listeners. Sometimes he waves his pencil in a sweeping gesture as though to underline a point, or he readjusts his glasses which keep slipping down.

When a friend commended him for his outstanding oratory he said: "Oh, I don't need to prepare anything. I always just get up and speak." In this he shares a characteristic of all Englishmen who disclaim oratory and profess to dislike it, while in fact they are a nation of born speakers—with the qualification, of course, that the Englishman never makes a speech but, under compulsion, agrees to say "only a word or two". The British have produced the best after-dinner speakers, and although that excellent guardian of the nation's larder, Lord Woolton, has cut down on the length of such dinners he has, fortunately, not interfered with the quality of the speeches.

Churchill as a speaker is unrivalled, despite a slight impediment in his speech which, like that other great orator, Demosthenes, he has overcome by sheer grit and persistence. Churchill's speech mirrors his mind and spirit, and the description he gives of the hero of one of his novels, "vehement, high and daring was his cast of mind", applies to him as well.

Daring and vehemence has, indeed, characterized his long career, with its many vicissitudes and changes of luck. A soldier at the age of twenty, an outstanding strategist during the last war, he became the man who, as H. C. Bayley said in the *Daily Telegraph* in November 1941,

"came to the first place in the darkest hour by universal consent and demand. Chatham, when events carried him to office said, in his grand manner: 'My Lords, I know that I can save this country and that no one else can.' Mr. Churchill does not use this style. There is more humour in his composition; always even in the darkest hours something of the laugh of the spirit of adventure."

This was the case when he was sixty-six years of age and still "vehement, high and daring"; it was the same ten years before. In the *American Mercury* his agent, Louis J. Alber, recalled some of the highlights of Churchill's lecture tour in the United States in 1932. Churchill, Alber relates, "tossed me some papers, and I noted with alarm that they were warnings from Scotland Yard about the danger of assassination. He was warned not to lecture in certain cities. I saw with dismay that he was booked for all of them. Churchill observed my long face and burst out: 'Don't look so serious. Nothing could be as bad as you look.' " Churchill was then about to discuss some other details, and Mr. Alber suggested that they should rather discuss plans to safeguard him against assassination plots, whereupon Churchill said to him: "I think I shall like you, Alber, I appreciate your putting the first thing first." And this is, indeed, the underlying principle of Churchill's activities and success.

Alber also tells an amusing story about Baron Richard von Kühlmann, a former Foreign Minister of Germany in 1918, who was at that time also on a lecture tour in the States. Churchill invited him and discussed various political matters, eliciting mostly evasive replies. Churchill then produced some excellent brandy which his guest enjoyed very much. Churchill pointed out that only a few years before their two peoples had tried to destroy each other. "But", he added, "I wish to assure you that I hold no enmity against your people, none against your country, none, I think, against your Government, and assuredly none

against you. As evidence of this I give you this excellent bottle of brandy."

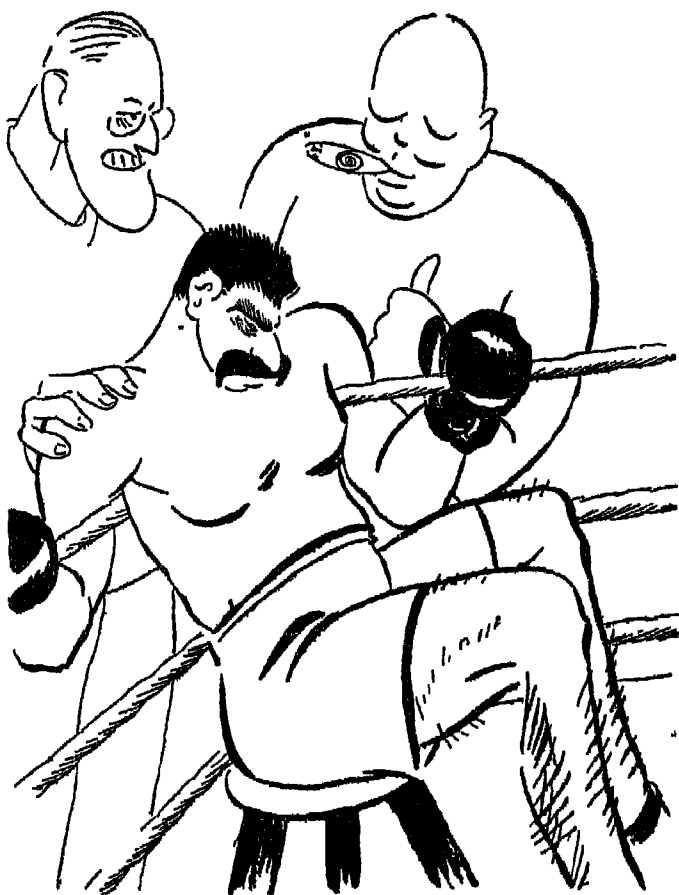
Three days later, supply of good brandy was running short (prohibition still reigned in America), and Alber reminded Churchill of the bottle he had given away. Churchill growled in his typical manner: "Your Kühlmann, the damned Hun". We relate this little story at the risk of having it exploited by Goebbels as demonstrating Churchill's "lack of sincerity". But then, neither Goebbels nor Ribbentrop will ever understand the British sense of humour; indeed, had Ribbentrop understood the spirit of the British he would never have advised his master to risk this war. They are equally unable to understand why the people of Britain are concerned about the health of their Prime Minister.

Churchill's health continues to be excellent despite the fact that since the outbreak of the war he has had little opportunity for exercise, not even for the long walks which he used to enjoy. The Prime Minister has no time to look after his health and does not allow even a recurrent gastric 'flu to upset his programme. No longer does he spend the week-end in his country house, for the business of the State cannot spare him. "Is your journey really necessary?" is the question which posters ask other week-end trippers. The Prime Minister certainly needs a holiday if anyone does, but presumably he will have to wait until he can indulge in a prolonged holiday, say in Berlin or Rome, when he can, at the same time, supervise the United Nations appointing their own Gauleiters for such places.

The one person who is most concerned for his health and whose company Winston Churchill prefers to any other is his wife, his best friend and adviser and the gentle spirit who sees to it that the man who safeguards the Home of Democracy is able to enjoy a home life of his own.

Mrs. Clementine Churchill is the daughter of General Henry Hozier who served with distinction in the Second Life Guards and was subsequently for many years connected with Lloyds. Her mother, Lady Blanche Hozier, was a member of the famous Scottish family of Airlie. Her uncle, Lord Airlie, was killed leading a charge at Diamond Hill during the Boer War.

Their marriage was a love match and was regarded as a society and political sensation at the time. Mr. Churchill became acquainted with his future wife through his mother, who was a



Los padrinos—Atácale mas duro, José, que tenemos al publico de nuestra
parte....!

The Seconds: "Hit him harder, Joe, so that we keep the public on
our side . . ."

El Tiempo, Colombia, August 9, 1941.

friend of Lady Blanche Hozier. Churchill was then already a Cabinet Minister and, at the age of thirty-three, setting out on a brilliant career. His financial position, however, did not then keep step with his political progress, and seemed to forbid his embarking on matrimonial responsibilities. Apart from his salary he had only the money which he earned as a writer and lecturer—earnings which were sometimes quite considerable. Thus he received £8,000 for his biography of his father, and he had also saved £6,000 from a series of lectures delivered eight years before his marriage.

His marriage turned out to be a perfect match. In *My Life Story*, Churchill refers to this important step in the following sentences:—

“It was in 1908 that I met a young lady of dazzling beauty who consented to be my wife. On her mother’s side she was one of the Airlies, whose country seat is close to Dundee. Her father, who was dead, Colonel Sir Henry Hozier, had been a prominent member of Lloyds, and had written a valuable account of the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.”

And he describes his wedding at St. Margaret’s, Westminster, in 1908, in these words:—

“We had a wonderful wedding at St. Margaret’s, with enormous crowds in the streets, and everybody gave us presents without the slightest regard to politics. This was much the most fortunate and joyous event which happened to me in the whole of my life; for what can be more glorious than to be united in one’s walk through life with a being incapable of an ignoble thought?”

He owes to Mrs. Churchill more than he knows, fond as he is of his beautiful wife who acted always as a gentle brake on him and often saved him from going too far politically.

Winston Churchill is a real family man whose favourite relaxation from the hard burden of his work is to be with his children. The Churchills have now four children (a daughter, Marigold, died of pneumonia in early childhood). Their eldest daughter, Diana, married “into politics”. She is the wife of Mr. Duncan Sandys, M.P., Financial Secretary to the War Office, and serves at present as a V.A.D. nurse. Major Randolph Churchill, their only son, is the Conservative Member for Preston and bids fair

to strike out on a political career of his own. Sarah, a well-known actress, who is now in the W.A.A.F.'s, married the American comedian Vic Oliver, while their youngest daughter, Mary, her father's favourite child as the youngest often are, now holds commissioned rank in the A.T.S.

Mrs. Churchill, too, discharges many social and war-time obligations. Already early in married life she proved to be a brilliant platform speaker, appearing frequently in support of her husband; but with the advent of the last war, and owing to her duties as a mother, she gave up public speaking for a time. However, when Randolph stood as candidate for West Toxteth, Liverpool, in a by-election in 1935, she spoke in his support. Now she sponsors so many charitable organizations that the B.B.C. have listed her as the Empire's "number one" woman broadcaster ever since her first broadcast to the women of India in November 1940.

In October 1941, she founded and became Chairman of the Aid to Russia Fund, a subsidiary of the Red Cross, a fund which reached £370,000 only twelve days after she launched her appeal, and which has at the time of writing exceeded the £2,000,000 mark. Equally successful are her broadcast appeals on behalf of the Y.W.C.A.

Next to the Queen and the members of the Royal Family, Mrs. Churchill is the uncontested "First Lady" of this country. She is to be seen at all important functions and has also often visited bombed areas together with the Prime Minister.

Her figure is tall and slim and gains added distinction by the good, though not extravagant, clothes she wears, so that she is considered one of the best-dressed women in the country. Her large grey eyes and the crisp grey curls atop her high forehead still speak to-day of the beauty which enchanted London society thirty-five years ago. Mrs. Churchill is a fine linguist and a brilliant conversationalist whose unaffected humour and vivid intelligence charm her listeners.

Throughout her married life Mrs. Churchill has never missed one of her husband's speeches in the House of Commons, although he not only discusses them with her beforehand but also rehearses his delivery in her presence. Although Mrs. Churchill has great influence on her husband she never uses it to further personal or political ambitions as did other ladies in the same position.

The Prime Ministers of this country have always depended on the kind of woman they married. "Dizzy" owed much to his wife whom, as he himself confessed, he originally married for her money but would have married again for love. Churchill's marriage showed his characteristic impetuosity, and the perfect mutual devotion of the Churchill couple is particularly gratifying at a time when external influences and differences of opinion or temperament shatter so many marriages. With characteristic modesty Mrs. Churchill refrains from obtruding into the lime-light of popularity and affection which the people of Britain are giving their great leader.

During their thirty-five years of married life the Churchills have lived in many homes: Eccleston Square, Sussex Square, Admiralty House, Chartwell Manor, Morpeth Mansions, and now No. 10, Downing Street. War-time housekeeping there demands a great deal of tact and skill from its chatelaine, for it is by no means an easy place to run. The Prime Minister's wife is not exempt from the red tape and filling-up of forms of which the ordinary citizen complains. The house is divided into two parts; one of them comes under the Office of Works, and when a new broom or duster is needed for the cleaners a huge foolscap form—O.W. 903, Requisition for Cleaning Materials and Consumable Stores—has to be completed.

The other, purely domestic, part of the house is the Prime Minister's—or rather his wife's—private responsibility. So it is up to Mrs. Churchill to cope with staff difficulties, to plan and to provide war-time meals, often at unconventional hours. Yet Mrs. Churchill, we are told, makes a great success of her task and manages to provide a real home for her hard-working and hard-worked husband.

There is truth in the saying that before we attend to our neighbour's we should put our own house in order. The old-established order in the Churchill home is, in a way, symbolic of a state of things which excels by far any "New Order" hatched out in the Wilhelmstrasse. It is very likely that Mr. Churchill might not be able to devote himself so wholeheartedly to his tremendous task, did he not possess those deep resources of personal happiness that enable him to face difficulties and critics with cheerful assurance. He knows that he is certain of deep and sincere affection in his home as well as among the British people.

La caricatura extranjera



El piloto de la Libertad

"The Pilot of Freedom."

El Diario, Uruguay, December 12, 1942.

VII

"GOOD OLD WINNIE"

THE affection of the British people for "good old Winnie" is a remarkable fact, and, incidentally, one most irksome and incomprehensible to the Germans. Here is a man who has been wrong more than once; a man who heads the Tories, a party considered reactionary by foreigners not conversant with the many paradoxes that make up politics in this country; the man who broke the General Strike; the man who will not compromise on India; the man who loyally defends colleagues who are disliked and distrusted by the masses who know their pro-Munich past. And yet those masses follow him—not with the cowed, sullen obedience of the whipped cur which characterizes the German, but for the reason which was aptly summed-up in a *Daily Express* editorial in September 1942:—

"We do not give our support to Mr. Churchill for any other reason than that he is doing his job superbly. He is entitled to the praise of the people. He has merited their trust."

Recent "Gallup Polls" (for what they may be worth) have resulted in remarkable figures. While out of what is described as a representative cross-section of the British public only 75 per cent professed themselves as satisfied with the Government's conduct of the war, no fewer than 91 per cent approved of Churchill as Prime Minister (November 1942). It is interesting to note that the high-water mark of Mr. Roosevelt's popularity in America never exceeded 84 per cent, sinking even to 70 per cent in September 1942.

That same month, Mr. Frank Wolstencroft, President of the Trade Union Conference held on September 2nd, praised the Prime Minister in the following words, rarely addressed to a Tory Party leader at such a gathering, and by the type of blunt, forthright Lancashire man that presided over it:—

"Well played, Churchill; I say, well played in the greatest test of all times. Well played, in spite of hard knocks and body-bowling from some of our so-called home supporters

as well as from our opponents. I wish you the best of luck in your thankless task. May Heaven be good to you! May you retain your health, strength and vigour until victory is assured. I thank God that in our hour of need the nation found a man with courage and faith in our people to see it through. Opposed to you in politics, I nevertheless express to you the gratitude of the working people for the magnificent example you have set of grim resolution and unflinching devotion to duty."

This is the authentic voice of the people, and well we know that *vox populi vox dei*. And Heaven has indeed been good to Winston Churchill. He has been through more physical dangers and violent hazards than any half-a-dozen average people—not counting political risks which would have "killed" a lesser man—and fate always helped him: from the day when, as a boy, he fell thirty feet from a tree; in the Boer War, and when he went to France during the last war; on his long and hazardous trips during the present war. He had many narrow escapes from death, but Fate was always kind to him.

We alluded to the political hazards he survived—dangers which all the power of oratory alone could not have overcome. The House, for many years, delighted in his great gift for the *mot juste*, the right phrasing at the appropriate moment. Never did it chortle more hilariously than when Churchill, reproved by the Speaker for describing another member's statement as a lie, courteously withdrew the expression and substituted for it the now classic words "terminological inexactitude". Yet that same House was deaf and unresponsive when he was crying alone in the wilderness, unveiling the growing menace of the German air force and the feebleness of our defences. He was not listened to; instead, they attacked him as an alarmist and warmonger. The man whose view of history has always been consistent and of a piece; the man who refused to trim his sails to the prevailing political wind was stigmatized by his opponents as a "careerist without judgment or self-discipline".

But Winston Churchill had proved by his past that he was ready for the supreme hour, when action and positive qualities were needed instead of the negative and colourless virtues (if virtues they are) of wait-and-see and safety-first. Then came the

call for this soldier-cum-journalist-cum-statesman, for the aristocrat who has remained a democrat.

We may be moving towards a new classless society—who knows? But if so, the way for it must be prepared by a spiritual aristocracy of thinkers and fighters; for only men who fight for life and freedom deserve them.

When we mentioned Winston Churchill's universal popularity it does not mean that criticism, opposition and attack have stopped. On the day when the *Daily Express*, as quoted above, summed up the views of 91 per cent of the public, Mr. Emmanuel Shinwell, M.P., speaking at Bedford, expressed certain sour and, one feels tempted to say, dyspeptic views. Members of the Government, Mr. Shinwell said, might pretend we were winning the war, but the public were far from convinced either by their speeches or performance. The "people" felt that there was no alternative to the present Prime Minister, and that we must put up with what we had. After this rather ungraceful tribute to the people's verdict, Mr. Shinwell continued to opine that "if we had reached the sorry pass that there was only one man in the country who was regarded as able to preside as head of the Government, it was doubtful whether it was any longer a country worth asking anybody to fight for". He refused to believe that the present Prime Minister or the present Government were indispensable. That was a complete myth, and one for which, Mr. Shinwell hinted darkly, we might have to pay dearly.

Mr. Shinwell is, of course, entitled to his opinions; but so is the public. When that public was asked whom, in the event of anything happening to Mr. Churchill, they would like to see as his successor (note that the question does not refer to a possible successor to him as long as his services are available), the British Institute of Public Opinion recorded that between 37 and 39 per cent favoured Mr. Eden, the runner-up being Sir Stafford Cripps, whose odds lengthened from 34 to 24 per cent. Bevin, Attlee, Beaverbrook and Morrison followed at a distance, while Mr. Shinwell himself figured as a 100 to 1 outsider, exactly 1 per cent judging him to be of the stuff that Prime Ministers are made of (figures published November 1942).

Political argument is not the purpose of this book; we content ourselves with the hope that history will open the eyes of those willing and able to learn its lesson. The onlooker, who is said to

see most of the game, may be in a better position to observe the lesson of history, so that some neutral voices may be of interest. *A Voz*, Lisbon (September 14, 1942), writes of the

"truly infectious dynamism of the man who governs Britain at the most crucial period of her history. His determination, coolness and perspicacity inspire the British people and restore confidence in the Near East and Russia. With a man of this calibre at its helm the ship of State can safely expect to reach port."

These words, we forget to mention, refer to Mr. Churchill, and not to Mr. Shinwell. *Republica*, another Portuguese paper, stated that Mr. Churchill is not wont to exaggerate, so that his speeches leave a magnificent impression of unquestionable optimism. *Diario de Lisboa*, writing without fear of Nazi suppression, said:—

"Even at the time of Tobruk everyone regarded Churchill as the unquestioned leader. . . . This firm and clear demonstration of solidarity has made possible the progress achieved by Britain in all fields of the war. Churchill's past speeches contain bold prophecies which have since been fulfilled, and his words even more than his vigorous personality animated Britain's resistance when she stood alone. This fact is fundamentally important at this decisive hour in the history of the world."

Further afield a quotation from a Peruvian paper of the same date is noteworthy, throwing as it does a light on the confidence in democracy which his personality inspires abroad. *La Cronica* declares that

"in this speech Churchill adheres to one of the most fundamental duties of the men who serve the cause of Democracy: to inform the representatives of the people on the condition of the State and on the problems affecting nations. By this speech it is possible to see that Churchill, in these critical moments in the life of the British Empire, is absolutely the right man, the irreplaceable man for the direction of the war and the political life of the British people."

Another neutral may be quoted here. The Turkish Deputy, Yaltchin, who visited London at the same time, wrote about the Premier:—

"A short talk with him is sufficient to realize the important part played by him during the present critical period of history, and the confidence and affection he has won in Britain and in all other independent and freedom-loving nations. Churchill is a brilliant statesman who can adapt himself to every situation. . . . Churchill is the man of the day, and worthy of remaining it."

Is that the same Churchill who went out of office over the Gallipoli venture—the warrior who fought the Turks in the last war and yet brought about the signing of an alliance with Turkey signed before this war: an alliance which has remained steadfast despite all von Papen's intrigue and pressure?

And again: here is the Tory who went ahead of public opinion and prejudice; who recognized the immense power and potentialities of the Soviet Union and advocated an alliance when British politicians were drawing aside the skirts of their garments in fear of defilement. In Stalin he recognized a leader of men. His evaluation of Stalin* is doubly interesting, in that it shows what qualities Churchill admires in others, and thereby demonstrates his characteristic scale of values.

Similarly, he clarified relations with the United States beyond the possibility of doubt. On June 30, 1943, the war-scarred City of London bestowed on Winston Churchill the highest honour it can confer: the freedom of the City.

In a memorable speech, delivered in the bomb-damaged Guildhall, Mr. Churchill deliberately ventured one of his rare prophecies.

"Upon the association and intimate alignment of policy of the United States and the British Commonwealth and Empire depends the future of the world."

And then he refuted that ugly rumour, spread in America among the gullible by Hitler's dupes or tools, which alleges that after the defeat of Hitler and Mussolini, Britain will leave America to deal with the Japanese alone. In ringing tones, the Prime Minister gave this unambiguous and heartening promise:—

"Should Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy collapse under the flail of Soviet Russia, and the not inconsiderable

* See page 94

exertions of the British and American armies in the Mediterranean and elsewhere, and should the war industries of Germany be blasted out of existence by the British and American air power, should this victory be achieved before Japan has been laid low, I stand here to tell you to-day that every man, every ship, and every aeroplane in the King's service that can be moved to the Pacific will be sent and there maintained in action by the people of the British Commonwealth and Empire in priorities for as many years as are needed to make the Japanese in their turn submit or bite the dust."

Political leadership, even when it holds extraordinary war-time powers, is never exempt from criticism, opposition and the effects on popular opinion of military setbacks. Yet the position is well summed up in a Swiss periodical, *Die Weltwoche* (July 10, 1942), which said:—

"Since Winston Churchill, in those critical days of May 1940, assumed the leadership of a Britain threatened with destruction, he has evolved from an individual unto a symbol of British resistance—a rock not to be moved by the raids on Britain and other disasters which followed."

The Swiss observer remarks that he descended from the pedestal of his high position in order to proclaim publicly, and often, the fact "that he is a human being, liable to commit mistakes and blunders like anybody else, and that he is no wizard capable of working miracles". Many people, the paper goes on to say, still fail to realize that much undeserved criticism is levelled against him, seeing that he assumed the leadership of a country handicapped by the shortcomings of his predecessors. He had to face the enemy without having equal, let alone superior, means at his disposal. But he managed to establish air and sea superiority to a far greater extent than was to be expected. British political opinion, the Swiss organ continues, is given to sudden fits of impatience with the Prime Minister; and some people have short memories and forget that when invasion threatened their island his courage, advice and effort prevented this country going down like France.

There is no Churchill myth. There is no aura of infallibility,

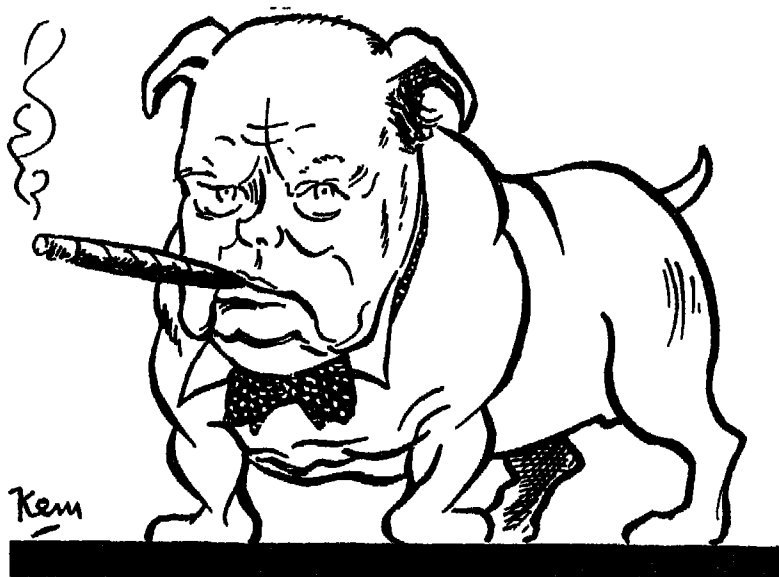
of that "somnambulistic intuition" which led Hitler to Stalingrad, around the sturdy shoulders of the man who describes himself as the Servant of Parliament. Something better and nobler surrounds him: he has become the focal point for the faith and hope of millions who see in him a reflection of their own dogged tenacity, of their own progress by trial and error, through sweat and toil and blood, to a better world.

Admiral Sir Roger Keyes said that despite all setbacks he regards Churchill as the only man who can save this country; and we have endeavoured to demonstrate the universality of this conviction both at home and abroad.

This universal confidence in the Prime Minister—which is not necessarily identical with confidence in his party or his colleagues—justifies the enormous powers held by him. There comes a moment in the life of every democracy when extraordinary, even dictatorial powers must be employed in order to prevent the overthrow of democracy. One factor which led to the downfall of the German republican régime in 1932 was the failure of German democrats and socialists to recognize this fact. As a consequence, Hitler came to power; and it is an interesting, though little-known, fact that the "legal" basis of his rule is still the Republican Constitution of Weimar, drafted by an eminent Jewish lawyer, Dr. Hugo Preuss, in 1920. Hitler has, of course, abolished or suspended every single paragraph, every single civic liberty contained in that Constitution: the only clause remaining in force is its famous article 48. This article empowers the Government, in a "national emergency", to suspend the Constitution, and this is what Hitler has done.

A Britain which would have allowed unlimited licence to the disaffected and evilly-disposed, which would have stuck to the theoretical doctrine of unrestricted liberties, might well have lost its liberty. It is not beyond the powers of imagination to visualize the formation, in May or June 1940, of a Cabinet under the aegis of certain fascist Knights or pacifist Dukes, resulting, of course, in a fascist "peace". Churchill countered this danger swiftly and efficiently, and the people realized the difference between the employment of dictatorial methods to safeguard and restore democracy, and the misuse of democratic procedure for the purpose of establishing a permanent dictatorship.

The opposition is as vociferous as ever—which proves the very



. . . as seen by Kem.

existence of a far higher degree of democratic freedom and control than some of their utterances would presuppose. We have not heard of any serious opposition in the Reichstag or the German press, nor can we imagine deputies in the Soviet Russian Parliament proffering criticism of Josef Stalin—while it is also difficult to conjure up the picture of a *Pravda* journalist writing an article against the Soviet Government and retaining his health sufficiently long to see it in print.

Such opposition and criticism continue to flourish in Britain; and, as we said before, it is a good thing that this is so. For not all of such criticism arises from spite or petty jealousy; much of it has proved constructive and necessary. It has, indeed, at times exerted so much influence on the Prime Minister that he has shocked the "old gang" of arch-tories. Politicians of the type of Sir Samuel Hoare, Sir Kingsley Wood, Lord Halifax and Sir John Anderson cannot be very happy about their old Chief who has opened the doors to new ideas, radical changes in the social structure of the country, and developments the limits of which are not to be foreseen.

Some politicians and big business interests would probably

prefer a venerable figure-head, a "front" like the old dotard Hindenburg in Germany who passively permitted Fascism's rise to power. There may be certain circles in the Army—and even the Navy—which do not like a man who is too capable, too big, and as impatient of precedent, vested interest and the narrow professional outlook of castes and cliques as Churchill. A man who cares nothing for reputations built up at the desk, trumpeted abroad by the cheap press, and not backed up by performance in the field; who "sacks" generals in the middle of a campaign, and has the audacity to succeed by changing horses in mid-stream, is bound to incur the aversion, and even passive resistance, of certain old army circles.

Another kind of opposition comes from the camp of those who accuse the Prime Minister of his "imperialistic past", and who see in the fact that he refuses to drop some of his unpopular colleagues a confirmation of their suspicions. Here, they say, is a popular man of the people who is clever enough to appear progressive while being an old-type diehard and reactionary at heart. He is more skillful than his predecessors and therefore more dangerous. He slows up and delays aid to Soviet Russia, he obstructs a Second Front, he prepares for a fascist Britain.

Apart from these criticisms coming from the extreme Right and the no less extreme Left, there is another body of opposition. These critics complain that Churchill has monopolized the direction of the war effort, that he conducts a one-man war, as it were. They are dissatisfied that he assumes responsibility for the military as well as the political conduct of the war. It is alleged that frequently military tasks prevented him from attending the House or that he was unable to attend a meeting of the Defence Council owing to political preoccupations. As a consequence he had to leave many matters to General Ismay. Many critics would prefer that the Prime Minister gave up the direction of military affairs, delegating them to younger and, perhaps, more modern men.

Criticism from both political extremes would tend to prove, if nothing else, that he moves in a temperate zone—which is usually the populated and popular climate. The third volume of criticism, inspired by genuine concern and patriotism rather than by party or class prejudice, is one which has not remained without influence on the Prime Minister. More than once he has recognized that

executive ability implies the readiness to delegate power. After the unsuccessful interlude of Sir Stafford Cripps, whose meteoric star now seems eclipsed, Anthony Eden has become Leader of the House, and the bearer of many burdens formerly carried by Mr. Churchill. The suggestion has been made recently that Mr. Churchill who, as a national figure, belongs to the whole nation, should resign the chairmanship of the Conservative Party and thus emerge from day-to-day party controversy and political wrangling.

The alleged demand for younger men, on the other hand, is inane. Controversy on the relative merits of *Youth* and *Age* in politics has long been a favourite subject for Letters to the Editor, and the only thing proved has been the futility of the debate. If youth were only a matter of physical fitness, Mussolini's Cabinet of trained poodles that jump through hoops or over bayonets should have won the war by now. If youth equals mental vigour and alertness, the power of quick decision backed by sound judgment, then the old gentleman of sixty-eight has not done so badly.

One thing is clear, beyond flattery and criticism. The strong foundation which has enabled Winston Churchill to survive political and military setbacks is his popularity with the mass of the people. The present House of Commons, it is often alleged, is out of date. It was elected eight years ago, during the hey-day of "safety first", disarmament, peace-pledges and unopposed fascism; it no longer represents the people. One may hesitate to accept this evaluation; there have been nearly two hundred by-elections since 1935—sufficient to enable the people to express their will and change the complexion of the House. But assuming that the House is out of touch with the people—and the static character of our institutions makes it easy for public opinion to be way ahead of the Government—this fact cannot be used as criticism against Mr. Churchill. It would merely detract from the value of criticisms proffered by the members of that allegedly antiquated body. And it would prove—if proof were needed—that the mass of the people recognize the need for resolute action without considering individual and group interests. The longer this war lasts the less the City and the West-End clubs will be able to influence one who is the man of the Tyneside dockyard worker and the Welsh miner. During the General Strike of 1926,

Churchill and the workers were on opposite sides; to-day both realize that the war cannot be won without the men of the dockyards and the coalmines and the men and women of the munitions factories on the one hand, and an inspiring leadership on the other.

Churchill has proved in the past that he can overrule opposition and carry on with the task. When this year's offensive will have begun, when the Second Front will have become a fact, criticism and critics will be forgotten by the people too busy with the task in hand.

Then, when victory is won, tremendous tasks of reconstruction will confront the nations and their leaders. It is idle to speculate what new leaders will emerge, and whether their stature will be greater or lesser. But until then Churchill is the biggest asset of the United Nations. America's confidence in him is expressed in the semi-jocular words of a famous politician who said: "If Churchill should ever be beaten in Britain America will still keep him."

When this war broke out, it was chiefly owing to Mr. Churchill's constant warnings that the British public was prepared for it to a higher degree than in 1914—at least as far as mental preparedness is concerned. In 1914 the threat of war came like a bolt from the blue; the Cabinet was by no means united, and we are assured by contemporary historians that even Mr. Lloyd George, despite his famous Agadir speech of 1911, was considered the potential leader of an anti-interventionist group. It was only the German invasion of Belgium which finally caused public opinion to swing round and enabled Asquith and Sir Edward Grey to take action. Even then there were two resignations from the Cabinet—Lord Morley and Mr. John Burns—which, however, failed to produce a split in the Liberal Party.

Often at the outbreak of this war I used to see John Burns, that grand old man, in the National Liberal Club. He took an active interest in events to the last (he died early in 1943) but maintained silence on the circumstances of his resignation from the Government. Lord Morley, too, is dead; but there are still a number of survivors of the 1914 Cabinet. Two of them are in office to-day: Lord Runciman, whose mission as "mediator" to Prague ended in disaster and led to the shameful betrayal of Czechoslovakia, and Sir John Simon, the present Lord Chancellor.

The confused situation prevailing in 1914 is recalled in an article by Atticus II in the *Sunday Times* (September 3, 1939):—

“ . . . We had, besides, domestic trouble of a serious nature. The I.R.A. bomb-throwers may be a vexation, but they do not create a situation like that in which the Home Rule Bill moved slowly along towards the Statute Book while Ulster and Southern Ireland were arming one against the other. The suffragettes were an embarrassment to the Government of that time which could not be regarded as negligible. But a sensible arrangement disposed of the trouble immediately. . . . ”

In 1914 the Government was better aware of the dangers of the situation than the public; in 1939 the opposite was true. The Baldwin and the Chamberlain Governments had deliberately closed their eyes. Disarmament had clipped the Lion's claws, and the leaders of the nation emulated the policy of the ostrich. The advent of Hitler; Germany's re-occupation of the Rhineland; her rearmament on land, at sea and in the air were permitted in silence. Winston Churchill's repeated warnings in Parliament and in the press, the detailed information and figures on German air strength supplied by him, were ridiculed as alarmist stories. Appeasement became the watchword of a foreign policy which shed its last claim to principles and was governed by expediency pure and simple. The sorry farce of “non-intervention” in the Spanish civil war, the equally ludicrous interlude of “sanctions” during the rape of Abyssinia, were intended to appease the Germans and Italians; the White Paper on Palestine (1939)—rejected as a flagrant breach of the Mandate by the League of Nations, and strongly attacked by Mr. Churchill—was meant to appease the Arabs. Austria was invaded, Czechoslovakia first mutilated and then destroyed, while Mr. Chamberlain passively watched the dictators growing stronger and preparing for the enslavement of the rest of the world. Their aggression, after all, touched only people in “a far-away country . . . people of whom we know nothing”, to use one of Mr. Chamberlain's many unhappy phrases which, like his “peace in our time” and the “bus that Hitler missed”, will be used by future historians to describe a period of blind complacency.

“Peace is indivisible.” This maxim, uttered by Maxim Litvinov

but formulated many centuries ago by one of the Sages of China, was vitiated by Chamberlain's policy which destroyed the system of collective peace and security in Europe. "We must not delude small and weak nations into thinking that they will be protected by the League against aggression", he exclaimed, thereby extending an open invitation to the would-be aggressor. It was a policy of isolation, enhanced by the unnecessary lack of tact and acumen, which missed no opportunity of indicating, by word and deed, British dislike of Russia. Mr. Churchill's judgment was superior. "When the panic-stricken Prime Minister gave his pledge to Poland, Winston called for a pact with Russia", writes "Cameronian" (*Reynolds News*, October 29, 1939), adding the following description of the man whom the people put into the Cabinet:—

"His mind is receptive to new ideas. His will is inflexible. Unlike most politicians, he finds easy the transition from the compromises of ordinary times to the need for swift decisions in days of danger. . . . If any man can rescue British conservatism from the state of political bankruptcy into which it has fallen, then that man is Winston, the least conservative of them all. Of all our leaders of to-day, Churchill and Greenwood are the only politicians whom the British public hears gladly. Chamberlain bosses Parliament—Churchill leads it."

Is he the "Lloyd George" of 1939? asks "Cameronian", and concludes thus:—

"The answer to a large extent rests in the hands of the people. They drove Churchill into the Cabinet against the will of its members. As the grave issues of the times clarify, they will find it necessary to drive out the blunderers, but Winston, an instrument if not the architect of social change, is likely to remain . . . an organizer of victory."

The answer has been given both by the people and by Winston Churchill himself. History has justified the words spoken by him on November 12, 1939, when, on the 71st day of the war against Hitler, he said:—

"The whole world is against Hitler and Hitlerism. Men of every race and clime feel that his monstrous apparition

stands between them and the forward move which is their due, and for which the age and times are ripe."

In his hearers' minds were then the words he had spoken in his broadcast of October 1, 1939—words to which the whole world listened with keen and eager attention, and which form a fitting conclusion to this book; words which express Winston Churchill's war aims and, at the same time, the deep-seated conviction which elevates him above party and power politics:—

"I cannot doubt we have the strength to carry a good cause forward, and to break down the barriers which stand between the wage-earning masses of every land and a free and more abundant daily life."

